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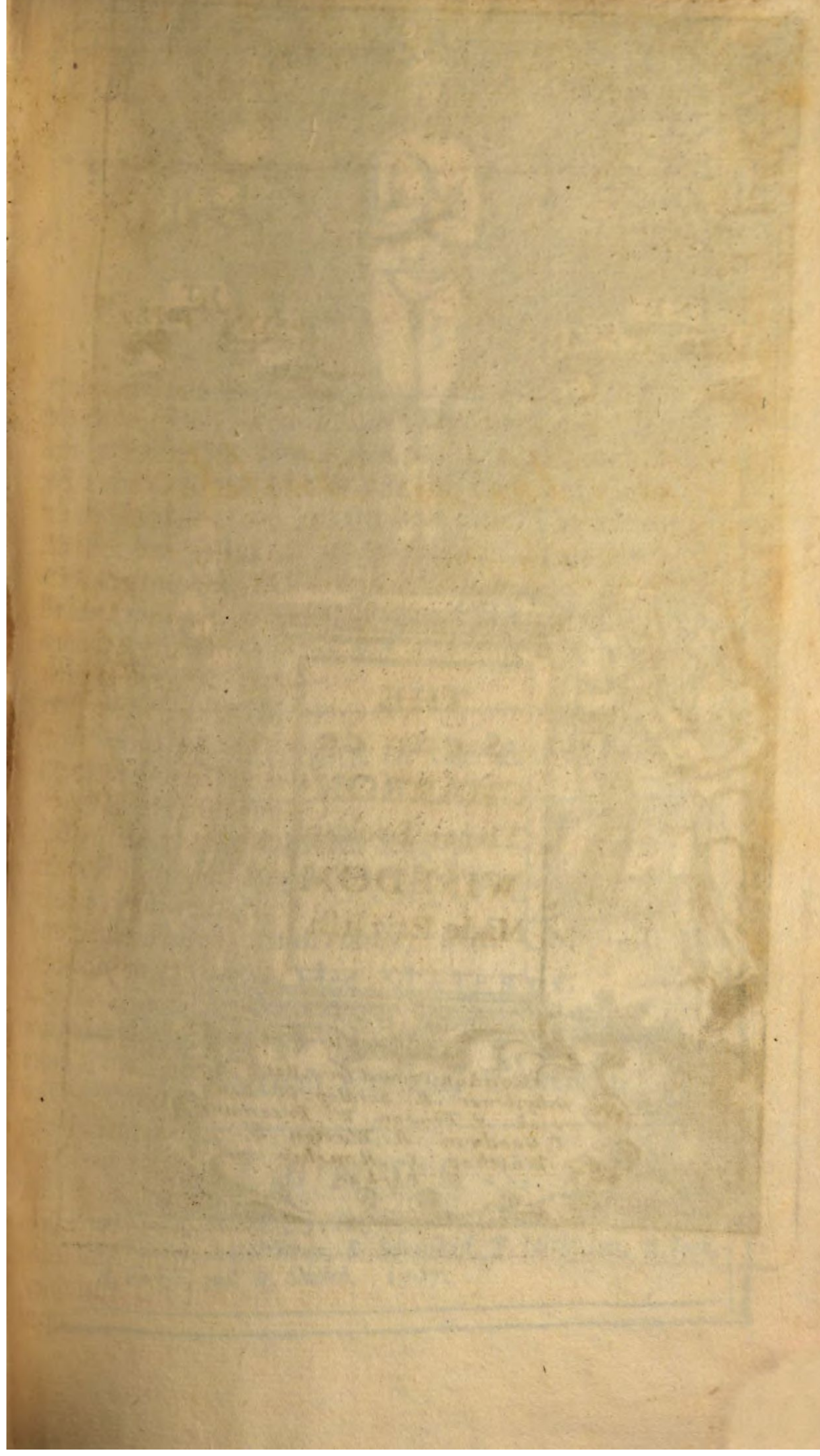
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THE
Sieur de
CHARRON'S
Three Books of
WISEDOM
Made English

London Printed for Mat.
Gillyflower M: Bentley, H. Bon-
wick, J. Tonson, W: Freeman
T. Goodwin M. Wotton J.
Walthoe S. Manship and
R. Parker.

OF
WISDOM.

THREE BOOKS.

Written Originally in *French*,

BY THE

Sieur *de* CHARRON.

With an Account of the AUTHOR.

Made *English*

By GEORGE STANHOPE, D.D.
Dean of *Canterbury*, and Chaplain in
Ordinary to Her MAJESTY.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

L O N D O N,

Printed for R. Bonwick, J. Tonson, W. Freeman, Tim. Goodwin,
J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Manship, J. Nicholson, B. Took,
R. Parker, and R. Smith. 1707.

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Staatsbibliothek
München**

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
WILLIAM
Lord *DARTMOUTH*.

My Lord,

IT is now near Two Years, since I was desired to employ some of my leisure Hours in considering this Book, and putting it into a Condition of becoming somewhat more useful and acceptable, than (it may without any suspicion of Vanity be said) the former Translation could pretend to be. A little Time spent in the Perusal satisfy'd me, that there was Matter in it not unworthy my Pains, and such as it was great Pity Men should want the Knowledge of, who understand not the Original. And as

The Epistle Dedicatory.

unreasonable did it seem, that others should be discouraged from enquiring into this Author, by the Misfortunes which naturally attend even the best Undertakings of this Nature, when Time, and Improvements of Language have given another Turn to Writing, and created a Disrelish for every thing, which is not suitable to the Genius of the present Age.

The greatest Difficulty which lay upon me, was that of finding Opportunities, in the midst of those more important Cares of my Profession, which neither This, nor any other Attempt or Consideration, however commendable or beneficial in it self, must prevail with me to neglect. But here I found even my Duty assisting; for That requiring part of my Attendance in a Place of somewhat more Retirement and Ease than where Your Lordship's Father was pleased to fix me, I made use of those Advantages to this purpose, and finished much the greatest part of the following

Book,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Book, in a way of Diversion, as it were, and unbending from severer Studies, and a more Laborious Station.

The particular Liberty taken by this Author, is a Qualification, which the present Generation, at least in our Parts of the World, will certainly be fond of. But it happened to have the same Effect upon Him sometimes, which we are not much to wonder if we find very frequent in those of less Judgment; and that is, over-straining Points of Dispute, by affecting to say all, which either the Case will bear, or which any other Person hath said before. This gave Occasion for my interposing sometimes with an Advertisement; and that I hope in such a manner, as may not have injur'd the Author, while it designs the Benefit and Security of my Reader. One thing only I cannot forbear adding upon this Occasion, that in the midst of all his Free-Thinking, he constantly expresses a due and absolute Deference for Revelation and Divine Truths. And This

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indeed

The Epistle Dedicatory.

indeed was by no means the Effect of his Profession, but of his Judgment; for Your Lordship is too discerning, not to know, that, as a little and superficial Knowledge in Physick makes Men Quacks, so it is not the Abundance, but the Defect of Reason and good Sense, which makes them Infidels and Scepticks in Religion.

How little the *Sieur de Charron* suffer'd his Thoughts to be under the Bondage of any private Respects, will be sufficiently evident to any considering Reader, from sundry Instances. Particularly from what he hath deliver'd upon the Subject of Government, in his *Third Book*: In which, tho' some Moot Points may seem a little uncouth to Us of this Nation, yet if we reflect upon the Constitution, under which he liv'd, we shall rather have occasion to wonder at his admitting so few reserv'd Cases, than mentioning so many. Besides, that even those mention'd would be of no mighty ill Consequence, if always confin'd to those

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The Epistle Dedicatory.

Conditions , and Occasions , which He hath temper'd and restrain'd them with. But, passing from the Mysteries of State, and pressing unusual Emergencies, to the Ordinary Measures of a Publick Administration, there is somewhat of an Air so full of Ingenuity, and such regard had to the Great Ends for which Government was instituted, as a very gentle Application would think an Encomium upon the English Constitution, and a sort of Prophetick Satyr upon the late Oppressions of a People to whom he stood nearly related.

Upon the whole Matter (My Lord) I have Reason to hope, This may prove not only a Book of Good Entertainment, but Great Benefit, to Persons who have the Capacity, and will give themselves the Pains, to consider it. Were it not so, I should not have thought it worth my Trouble ; and should yet much less have presumed to make an Offer of it to Your Lordship. I can with good Confidence say, that no Man is better qualified to be

The Epistle Dedicatory.

be a Master of the Subject it treats of. The particular and intimate Knowledge of Your Abilities, which my being Honour'd with the Care of Your Lordship at the University gave me, would bear me out in delivering more upon this Occasion, than Your Modesty will permit. And indeed the General Opinion of all that have the Honour of Your Lordship's Acquaintance, saves You that Decency, and hath prevented me in this Point. The Manly Sense, and Wonderful Penetration, which appear'd very early in You, have given me many pleasing Reflections; and I am sure are Foundation sufficient for making Your Lordship a Greater Ornament and Honour to Your Family, than even that Nobility which You have by Descent.

But I must beg leave (My Lord) to put you in mind, that besides Your Own, Your Lordship hath a mighty Stock of Honour and Esteem to set out upon, deriv'd from the Memory of a Father, than
whom

The Epistle Dedicatory.

whom Few, if Any, of his Condition, are more universally loved and admir'd. I say, *loved*, My Lord, for This, as a more rare, so is it a more valuable Tribute, than that of Honour, to Persons of Quality, and in Great Offices. For where so much is paid to the Station, we can make very little Judgment, what is sincere, and what is the Effect of Formality, or Fear, or Interest. But in His Lordship's Case there was something so Distinguishing, in all the Respects paid to Him, as plainly shew'd a particular Regard to his Person, and that the outward Testimonies were not Things of Course, but that he had engag'd the very Hearts of Those who paid them.

I will not so far seem to distrust Your Lordship's Acceptance of this Address, as to make the least Apology for it. You will interpret it, I doubt not, as a Testimony of the Honour I have for You, and a Desire to publish my having it, to the World: And Your Lordship will do me the
Justice

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Justice too to believe, that were it in my Power to give any other Evidence of This, than such an open Declaration; nothing should be wanting on my Part, which might prove the Sincerity of those Professions I am Proud to make, of being,

My L O R D,

Your Lordship's

Lewisham,
May 6. 1697.

Most Obedient, and

Most Devoted Servant,

Geo. Stanhope.

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OF

OF
WISDOM.

Three BOOKS.

The Author's Preface.

Wherein the Title, the Subject Matter, the Design, and the Method of this Treatise are explained.

BEfore we enter upon the Book it self, it is requisite the Reader should be well informed what he is to understand by that Wisdom which is the Name, the Subject, and the End of it; and after what manner it is intended to be treated of in the following Sheets.

Now every One at the very first hearing, understands by Wisdom some particular and uncommon Accomplishment, whereby a Man is distinguish'd and set above the Vulgar, by a greater Ability, and more masterly Readiness, whether in Good or Evil. For tho' there be not the same Propriety indeed in the Expression,
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when converted to the worse Sense ; yet it is used either way, and the Scripture it self makes mention of some Persons Wise to do Evil. Thus then it does not by any means import a really Good and Commendable Quality of the Mind , but in general any sort of Knowledge or Skill , exquisite in the Degree , be the Object and Employment of it what it will. In this Sense a Tyrant , or a Pyrate, or a Robber, may have this Title apply'd to him ; no less than a King, or a Pilot, or a Captain ; because all we intend by it is only Prudence , and Conduct , and a perfect understanding in the Business of his Profession. Hence it comes to pass, that Folly is opposed to Wisdom, not only as it denotes Extravagance and Vice, but in general any sort of Indiscretion, or meanness of Attainments. For Wisdom gives us an Idea of something extraordinary and lofty in its kind ; as the contrary does of somewhat little , and low, and short of the common Pitch. Take Wisdom in a Good or a Bad Sense , Two Things are manifestly included in it ; First, A Sufficiency of Mind, which implies its being furnished with all things necessary for its purpose ; And, Secondly, The Excellency or more than common Measure of that Provision ; for to give a Man right to this Denomination, it is no less necessary that he should enjoy these Qualities in a great and eminent degree. Thus you see the largest and most vulgar Notion of Wisdom , according to which Men commonly tell you ; that Wise Men are very scarce ; that they who are such, have a Right to direct and preside over Others ;

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Others ; and, in Matters of difficulty, to be consulted like so many Oracles ; from whence it is very frequently said, that Men take the Judgment of the Wise, and let better Heads determine for them. But now, if we come to define the thing more nicely, and fix a right Notion of it, we shall not find so general an Agreement. For Wisdom means one thing with the generality of the World, another among Philosophers, and somewhat different from both, in the Acceptation and Treatises of Divines. These Three are the several Stages and Classes of Men, under which all the World is comprehended. The Two last have the Advantage, and lead Men by Rules and Precepts, and a stricter Consideration of Things : The First looks upon Things but very slightly, and take up with very loose and imperfect Notions of them.

Now it may very truly be said, that there are Three sorts of Wisdom, Divine, Humane, and Worldly ; these relate and bear proportion to God, to Nature in its primitive Purity and Perfection ; and to Nature lapsed and deprav'd. Concerning each of these sorts, the Three Orders of Men just now instanc'd in deliver themselves, each according to their Condition and Capacity. But more properly and peculiarly thus ; The Vulgar are most skilled and conversant in the Worldly, the Philosophers about the Humane, and the Divines about the Divine Wisdom, as their particular Business and Study.

The Lowest of these is Worldly Wisdom, and this varies according to the great Ends which it proposes to it self, Riches, Pleasure, or Ho-

The PREFACE.

1 John
iii. 16.

Jam. iii.
15.

nour. With regard to these it degenerates into Avarice, Luxury, or Ambition; according to St. John's Division of it, All that is in the World is the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life. From whence St. James hath given it those scandalous Characters of Earthly, Sensual, Devilish. Now This is what both Philosophy and Divinity take upon them to reprove, and endeavour to suppress and reform. They pronounce it to be no better than Folly and Madness, and so accounted in the sight of God. And accordingly you will find no mention made of This in the following Treatise of Wisdom, except it be, to disallow, and to condemn it.

The Divine, and Highest of these Three sorts is treated of by Philosophy and Religion, after a manner somewhat different from each other. As for what the Common and Vulgar sort of People usually say, or are capable of saying upon this Occasion, I omit it all, as too mean and low to have any place in our Consideration, and rather a Profanation of the Subject, than otherwise. Philosophers represent it as a Matter wholly Speculative, the Knowledge of First Principles, and the Hidden Causes of Things; and lastly, the Highest and Supreme Cause, GOD Himself; which with other abstracted Notions, is the proper Business of Metaphysics in particular. This resides entirely in the Understanding, and is its chief Happiness and Perfection; 'tis the first and most sublime of all the Intellectual Virtues and Excellencies, which are capable of subsisting without Probity, or Action,
or

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or any Moral Virtue. Divines on the contrary do not so confine it to Speculation, as not to extend it to Practice too; for they make it the Knowledge of things pertaining to God, such as should enable us to form a Judgment of Matters to regulate our Lives and Actions by: And This they tell you is of Two Sorts; The One acquired by Study and Industry, not much unlike what I mention'd to be the Science intended by Philosophers; The Other infused, and coming from above; This is the First of those, (which are sometimes termed the Seven) Gifts of the Spirit, with regard whereunto he is styled The Spirit of Wisdom; such as rests only upon the Righteous, and the Pure; and, as the Book of Wisdom truly observes, *Wisd. i. iv.* will not enter into a malicious Soul, nor dwell in the Body that is subject unto Sin. This is what the present Treatise is not intended for neither; but is the Subject of my First Truth and those other Works of mine, which, are properly Treatises of Divinity, and Religious Discourses.

From hence my Reader easily perceives that Humane Wisdom is the real Title, and Subject of the following Book; of which it is fit some short Description should here be premised, which may stand for the Argument, or summary Account of the whole Work. Now, the Common Accounts of this Matter, as they are various and very distant from one another, so are they all narrow and imperfect. The vulgar and most general Notion of it, amounts to no more than Circumspection, Address, and Prudent Behavi-

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our in Business and Conversation. This indeed is like the Vulgar and a Thought worthy of Them; who place all Excellence in Action, and Shew, and outward Advantages; and consider no good Quality any farther, than as it is observ'd and admir'd. They are entirely devoted to Eyes and Ears; the Internal Motions of the Mind are of little or no Consequence with this sort of Men; and therefore, in their Acceptation of the Matter, Wisdom may subsist without either Piety or Probity; for All they require from it is a good Outside, and Appearance, and such Easiness of Conduct and Agreeable Management, as shall approve a Man's Discretion and his Parts. Others again mistake it for a Roughness and Singularity of Temper and Behaviour; a particular Stiffness of Fashion, Obstinacy in Opinions, Affected Expressions, and a Way of Living out of the Common Road. And therefore those that value themselves upon these Qualities they call Philosophers, when in truth, to return a little of their own Jargon back again upon them, They are nothing better than conceited Humourists, Fantastical and Capricious Coxcombs. This now, according to the Scheme and Measures pursued in this Book, is, in plain English, Extravagance and Folly. The Nature then of this Wisdom must be learn'd from some other Hand; that is, from Philosophers and Divines, who have both explain'd and treated of this Matter in their Moral Tracts. The Former handle it as their proper Business. For they consider Men as they are by Nature, and with regard to practice: But the Latter

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rise higher, and aspire to infused and supernatural Graces, such as are Speculative and more than Humane; that is, Divine Wisdom, and with Regard to Faith. Hence it comes to pass, that the Former is more extensive and large, as undertaking not only to direct private, but publick Duties, Societies as well as single Persons are instructed by it; Whatever can be necessary or advantageous to Families, Communities, Common-Wealths and Kingdoms, all falls within its Compass and Jurisdiction. Divinity on the Other Hand is more silent and sparing upon these Accounts, and Aims chiefly at the Eternal Happiness and Salvation of particular Persons. Besides, The Manner and Air of their Treatises is very different; That of Philosophy more free, and easie, and entertaining; that of Divinity, more plain, and authoritative, and with less Pains to recommend it self to Mens Fancies and Palates. Philosophy therefore, which is the Elder of the Two, as Nature must have been antecedent to our Supernatural Assurances, tries to insinuate it self and win Mens Favours,

* So as to join Instruction with Delight,
Profit with Pleasure — Lord Roscommon.

And therefore she dresses and adorns her self with Discourses, Arguments, Turns of Wit and Flights of Fancy; Apt Examples, and moving

* Simul & Jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo — Horat.

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Similitudes. Ingenious Expressions, useful Apothegms, and all the Graces of Art and Eloquence. Divinity comes in a commanding Strain, and thinks it a Diminution of her Majesty to descend to such popular and mean Methods. And accordingly there wants a great deal of that Freedom and Gaiety, and (if I may so say) Cheerfulness and Good Humour in this, which you are to expect in Philosophy, which yet must be so temper'd, as not to degenerate into Trifle and Meanness, but still continue to be truly Generous and Brave. It must be allow'd, that Philosophers have acquitted themselves admirably well in this particular; not only in the Instructive, but the Moving and Persuasive Part; setting off all their Virtues to the best Advantage, and taking care, that all the Heroick Excellence of them shall appear in its just Dignity and Proportions. Under which Title of Philosophers, I comprehend not only such as the World have thought fit to dignify with the Fame of Wisdom, as Thales, Solon, and those that were of the same Strain, about the time of Cyrus, Cræsus, and Pisistratus; Nor them only of the next in Succession, who taught and profess'd Wisdom publickly, as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aristippus, Zeno, Antisthenes; who were all of them Heads and Masters in their Art; nor their Disciples and Followers, who afterwards divided into particular Sects; but I include likewise all those great Men who render'd themselves exemplary for Virtue and Wisdom, as Phocion, Aristides, Pericles, Alexander, (whom Plutarch dignifies with the

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the Character of Philosopher as well as King) Epaminondas, and the rest of the Brave Greeks. The Fabricii, Fabrii, Camilli, the Cato's, the Torquati, Reguli, Lelii, and Scipio's, among the Romans, most of them Military Men and Commanders of Armies.

Upon this Account, though I do not refuse or disregard the Authorities of Divines, yet I have more frequent recourse to those of Humanists and Philosophers in the following Treatise. Had I design'd to prepare Men for a Cloister, or a Life of such Perfection, as aspires above the Precepts, and aims at the Perfection of Evangelical Counsels, then indeed my Subject would have obliged me to keep close to those Authors: But since I am training a Man up for the World, and forming him for Business and mix'd Conversation, Humane, and not Divine Wisdom, is the proper Accomplishment for me to recommend, and the Method of answering my Purpose.

Speaking therefore in general Terms, and according to the Nature of the Thing, We must, in Agreement with Philosophers and Divines, acknowledge, that this Humane Wisdom consists in a Rectitude of the Man, when every part within and without, his Thoughts, and Words, and Actions, and every Motion is Graceful and Noble, and what is for the Honour of his Nature. For this is the Excellence of a Man, consider'd as a Man; so that, as we call That Piece of Workmanship Perfect, which bath all its Parts entire, and is finish'd according to the nicest Rules of Art: He is in like manner said
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to be a wise Man who understands upon all Occasions how to shew himself a Man, by acting in perfect Conformity to the Fundamental and First Rules of Humane Nature ; Or, to speak more particularly, He that is well acquainted with himself in particular, and Mankind in general ; that preserves himself from all the Vices, the Errors, the Passions, the Defects incident to him, as well from the inward Causes of his own Mind ; as the outward, proceeding from Custom and Common Opinion ; that asserts the Native Freedom of his Mind, and hath a large universal Soul ; that considers and judges every Thing, without enslaving himself to any ; that directs all his Aims and Actions so as that they shall agree with Nature, that is, Pure, uncorrupted Reason, the Primitive Law and Light inspired by God, and which shines still in every Breast ; The Model by which the wise Man squares his own private Judgment. That in his outward Behaviour complies with the Laws, and Customs, and Ceremonies of the Country where he dwells ; that demeans himself toward others with Discretion and Prudence ; is always firm and consistent with himself, pleased and contented ; without any discomposure of Mind expecting and entertaining any Accident whatsoever, and especially Death, the last and most terrible of them all. All these Strokes or Lines, which go to the making up this Idea, may be reduced to Four, that are the principal and most commanding of all the rest. The Knowledge of a Man's self ; Free and Generous Largeness of Mind ; the acting in Conformity with Nature (which

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(which is of an Extent so large as when rightly understood, to be singly and by it self a Rule sufficient) and true Content and evenness of Temper. For these are Qualifications which never meet, except only in the wise Man. He that is defective in any one of them, does not come up to the Character. He that either mistakes his own Condition, or whose Mind is in any sort of Bondage either to his own Passions, or to the Common Vogue; that is partial, and ty'd up to any particular Notions, cramps up his Thoughts, and cuts himself out from his Native Right of examining, and judging every Thing. He that lives in Contradiction to Nature (that is, Right Reason) upon what Pretence soever he forsake it; whether he be seduced by Passion, or Opinion; He that trips and staggers through Trouble, or Terror, or Discontent; and lives in dread of Death; This Man is not, cannot be Wise. Thus you have in little the Piece, which this following Treatise designs to draw in its full Proportions. Particularly the Second Book, which consists of the General Rules, and a Description of Wisdom in the gross; and this indeed is more properly mine, than either of the others; so peculiarly such, and so full to my purpose, that I once had Thoughts of sending it into the World alone. And what I have here described in Words, the Graver hath done with his Style, in the Frontis-Piece of this Book, which the Reader will find an Explanation of, immediately after this Preface.

Now

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Now there are two Things, which principally conduce to this Wisdom, and help Men forwards in the Attainment of it. The First of These is a Good Constitution, or Temperament of the Brain, which makes us capable of such Improvements, as our own Care and Industry shall be able to acquire. Of how very great Consequence this is, and how far it falls under the Power of Men to contribute to it, you will find at large in the XIII. Chap. of the First, and the XIV. Chap. of the Third Book.

The Second is the Study of Philosophy; not all the Branches of it equally, but the Moral Part chiefly; yet so as that the Natural be not wholly neglected. For this is our Candle to enlighten, our Guide to direct, our Rule to chalk out the Way for us; It explains and gives us true Idea's of the Law of Nature, and by this means furnishes a Man for every part of his Duty as a Man; whether it concern him in Publick or in Private; in Company or Alone; as a Member of a Family, or of a State; it sweetens and takes off all the Beast in us, makes us tame, and gentle, and good-natured; fashions and polishes this rude Mass, and forms it into Wisdom. In short, This is the true Learning; all the rest a Man is capable of is mere Vanity in comparison; at least it is in no degree necessary, and in a much less degree useful. For here we learn both to Live and to Die well; and this is the whole we have to take Care of: It teaches a generous and noble Integrity, and Honest Prudence; and well advised Probity; such as raise a Man above little Ends, and low

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low Respects, and put him upon Virtue from the more exalted and Divine Principles, for the sake of its own Excellence, and the Sense that this is what becomes him to do. But alas! This Second Help is almost as generally neglected, or as ill used as the former. For the generality of the World are so entirely taken up with worldly Wisdom, that they give themselves little or no Trouble about this which I am now mentioning.

Thus Nature and Industry must both do their Parts, in order to a Man's obtaining Wisdom. He who hath been kindly dealt with by Nature, and brings the Disposition to Wisdom with him, in a convenient Temper of Brain, will find good Actions and Manners flow very naturally from hence, and feel himself advanc'd a great way, without his own Pains: And those Pains need not be very great, where he is not so much obliged to conquer, as to promote Nature, and moves with speed and inclination towards the Prize he aims at: But if the Temper on the other hand be amiss, All will be difficult and strained: Industry must then correct and supply, oppose and subdue Nature; as Socrates observed of himself, that by infinite Pains, and laborious Study of Philosophy, he had at last got the better of a very ill Disposition.

In proportion to these two Helps; there are on the other Hand two Hinderances, or powerful Countermines, which carry Men into Folly; the one natural, the other acquir'd. The Former proceeds from the Distemper of the Brain, whether that be Original or Accidental; by this means

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means it happens sometimes to be too soft, or too moist, or the Parts of which it consists are too heavy and gross; from whence proceed Dulness of Apprehension, Weakness of Judgment, Dark and confused Notions of Things, flat, and low, and little Thoughts, such as we generally find among the mean and illiterate sort of People: Or else in the other Extreme, It is too hot and dry, which disposes the Person to be furious and bold, extravagant and intractable in Vice. These are the two Extremes, like Fire and Water, Mercury and Lead, each of them improper for Wisdom, which requires a strong and vigorous, but at the same time a fix'd and steady Mind; and such as in the midst of all its Gallantry and Firmness, may be manageable, and yielding, and modest. This Second Defect however, of the two, seems the easier to be redrest; the First is hardly curable.

The acquir'd Obstruction proceeds either from Want of all Instruction, or from being Ill instructed; which, among other Things, consists very much in strong Prepossessions, wherewith the Mind was early tinctur'd, and so finds it self captivated to them, not able to get above these first Impressions, nor to think freely and impartially. Such Men we commonly say are Head-strong, and touch'd in the Crown, Whimsical, and wedded to their own Opinions: And, if to that Obstinacy of Humour, there happen to be added any degree of Learning, This blows them up into Presumption and Arrogance, puts Weapons into their Hand to defend their Prejudices, finishes them in Folly, and renders their Disease
incapable

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incapable of all Remedy. Natural Defects, and acquired Prepossessions, are indeed two very formidable Obstructions; and if Learning do not, as in truth it very seldom does, cure them, it adds to the Disease, and renders them impregnable. Which yet is by no means any Reflection upon Learning, or Dishonour to it, as some may be apt to imagine, but rather a Commendation, and to its Advantage.

Learning is, without all Controversie, a most excellent Weapon, but not fit to be trusted in every Hand; and he who knows not how to manage it, will find more hurt than good from it. For it makes sick and weak Minds giddy and conceited, perfects and polishes Fools, no less than it does those of good Capacities and Dispositions. A weak and injudicious Man knows not how to use his Weapon; on the contrary it weakens and over-powers Him: He is oppress'd with it, like a Stomach over-charged with more Meat than it can digest, or an Arm that is benumb'd and born down by a Staff heavier than it can use. The strong and sound Mind, quite contrary, plays with it dexterously, shews a masterly Skill in the use of it, turns it to Advantage perpetually, forms his Judgment, rectifies his Will, pours in this Oil to make the Lamp of Nature burn stronger and brighter; is the wiser and better for that very thing which makes the other but the more exquisite and more insupportable Fool. But, all this while, Learning is not accountable for those ill Consequences, any more than Wine is guilty of all the Excesses committed by it, or a good Medicine
ill

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ill apply'd, for the Patient's growing worse upon it. Now against these conceited half-witted Fellows, whom Nature hath disposed to Folly, and their own Acquisitions have perfected in it, I denounce formal War in my Book, as looking upon them to be irreconcilable Enemies to Wisdom; and the fittest Title I can find to distinguish them by, is that of Pedants; for which I have the Authority of several good Writers, who have used the Word in this Signification. It is confess'd, that in its Original Language and proper Sense, it is taken in a very good and commendable Meaning; but in latter Times, and other Languages, the great Abuse and Corruption of Learning hath given occasion for the fixing a very ill and contemptible one upon it; a vile, sordid, peevish, stiff way, that makes no other use of Learning, but for Gain and Ostentation, Arrogance and Presumption; In short, all That which makes Learning despicable and derided, is signify'd by it. And so this, like Tyrant, Sophister, and the like, is one of those Words which hath absolutely lost its first Signification, and is now become a Mark of Reproach and Contempt.

It is very possible some Persons may be offended at my using this Term, imagining that I design an Affront to those who make Learning their Business and Profession. But they, I hope, will be satisfy'd with this ingenuous Declaration, that I have not the least Intention of reflecting upon any Science or Condition of Men, particularly not the Gown, which I have the honour to wear, and to be one of those who are called Men of Letters, my self; my meaning
is

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is only to charge a certain Quality of Mind, a sort of Souls which I have been describing, of mean and low Capacity, but moderately provided by Nature, and afterwards depraved by Art and Study; Men prepossess, and obstinate, and fierce in certain Opinions; and these are to be found in all Robes, and all Conditions; as in truth there is a World of Mobb in the Pit and Boxes, as well as in the Upper-Gallery. *Vulgum tam chlamydatus quam coronam voco.* Let these Objectors but find me another Word as expressive of those Qualities, and I will most readily consent to the Exchange. In the mean while, after this Declaration, I think I may justly say, that whoever shall still be peevish, and have any resentment upon this account, does but injure Me, and accuse Himself. 'Tis true, there are other Terms of Opposition to the Wise Man; but not any, I think, so extensive and significant as This. The Vulgar, the Ignorant, and Others, which I frequently take occasion to make use of; These are opposed more directly, like Low to High, Weak to Strong, Common to Scarce, a Servant to his Master, Prophane to Sacred: Thus likewise Fool is set the most directly in opposition to Him; but then This is, as Crooked is opposed to Streight, Vain-glorious to Modest, Constraint to Freedom, Sickness to Health. But now Pedant includes all this, and a great deal more, in the Sense which I apply it to: For it gives us an Idea of a Man, not only different from, and contrary to a Wise Man, as the rest of them do, but a Fellow that hath the Impudence

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to oppose and make Head against him; that comes armed Cap-a-pe, sawcily challenges him to Combat, and talks magisterially and dogmatically. And, because in the midst of all this Vanity and fierce Arrogance, he hath some sort of Misgivings, and thinks himself discover'd; therefore he bears an inveterate Spight to this Person who checks his Follies; is eternally censuring, condemning, running him down; esteeming and behaving himself as the only Person who has any Right to that Character of Wisdom; tho' in reality he infinitely exceed all others in the exquisiteness and troublesomness of his Folly.

Having thus given my Reader a short Account of the Argument and Design of the following Treatise, it may not be unseasonable to premise one Word or two concerning the Order and Method observed in it. He must know then, that it consists of Three Books. The First directs the Knowledge of a Man's Self, and the Condition of Human Nature in general. This is laid as a necessary Preparation to Wisdom; and largely illustrated under Five General Considerations, each of which is subdivided into several Particulars. The Second contains the principal Lines and general Rules of Wisdom. The Third descends to particular Instructions and Circumstances, branched out under the Four Cardinal Virtues, of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance; and here every Part and Relation of Human Life, hath some Provision made for the Duties it engages us in.

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I add too, that I write and treat my Subject, not after a Pedantick Manner, and in set Forms, according to the Methods of the Schools; nor with regular Arguments in Mood and Figure, nor with Pompous Eloquence, nor any other Artifice whatsoever. I am verily persuaded what Tully says is most true, That Wisdom, could she but render her-self visible to Human Eyes, would charm our Souls, and ravish our Affections, and make every Creature strangely in Love with her. (Quæ si oculis ipsis cerneretur, mirabiles excitaret amores sui.) And therefore she need only discover her native Beauties, and is too noble, too glorious, to use any of those little modish Garbs, to adorn and set her off; but this I do too with a Liberty which all, perhaps, will not be well pleased with. The Propositions and Truths are compact and close, but oftentimes very dry, and served up crude and coarsely, like Aphorisms, Overtures, or short Hints of Discourses.

De Offic.
Lib. 1.

Some Persons, I am sensible, may be apt to think me too bold with some commonly-receiv'd Opinions, and take offence that I pay them no greater Deference. To these Persons, and the Fault they find with my free way of expressing my Thoughts; I answer,

First, That Wisdom, when above the common Standard, hath a Right to this Liberty. It is the Privilege and Jurisdiction of a Wise Man, to call Matters before him, to examine and try them, to censure and condemn vulgar Notions, which indeed, for the most part, are no better than vulgar Errors. And who shall pretend to bar

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this Privilege? Why should he who hath it, decline the Exercise of it, though he knows at the same time that this cannot be done, without incurring the Envy and Displeasure of a great part of the World?

Nay, Secondly, I cannot but think, the juster ground of Complaint lies on my side, and must therefore reprove Them for this foolish and feminine Niceness, as a thing that is infinitely too squeamish and tender to bear necessary Truth, or attain to sound Wisdom. The boldest Expressions and Truths are most becoming a truly great Soul; and a Man who hath at all study'd the World, will not think any thing strange or shocking. For this proceeds from Weakness of Judgment only, which ought to be corrected; and a Man must harden his Mind, and accustom himself to consider patiently, even the oddest and most uncouth Things, in order to giving them a fair Tryal. There is nothing so extravagant, but the Mind of Man you see is capable of thinking it; and consequently nothing so extravagant, but that a Man may, and will do very properly and well, to give it the bearing. All the Care to be taken upon this Occasion is, that we be not wanting to our Selves; That while we endure to examine every thing, tho' never so generally exploded, yet we yield our Assent to nothing, but what is good and decent, tho' never so universally commended or receiv'd. For the Wise Man gives Instances of his Courage and Greatness of Soul in both these Cases, whereas these nice Persons betray an Effeminate Weakness and Delicacy, and are manifestly defective in them both.

Thirdly,

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Thirdly, *Whatever I propose here, it is only with an Intention to have it considered: I pretend not to oblige Others to think as I do; I Offer my Thoughts, but I do not impose them. If They differ in Judgment from Me, it breeds no Quarrel; I should injure my self extremely if it did; because this is one of those detestable Qualities that concur to make up a Pedant. Passion is generally an Argument that Reason is defective; and He that is disposed to any Opinion upon One of these Motives, hath seldom any great Mixture of the Other with it. Wherefore then are these Gentlemen Angry? Is it because I am of another Opinion? Let them give me fair Quarter at least, for I am not in any Degree displeas'd with Them for differing from me. Is it for saying some Things not agreeable to their Taste, and that of the World? Alas, 'Tis for this very Reason, that I mention them. I hope at least, there is nothing said without Reason for it; if they can relish it, and discern the Force of that Reason, 'tis well: If they have better for the other side of the Question, and such as will overthrow mine, I am always ready to hear it; and shall be both pleased and thankful for better Information. But let them not think to run me down with Numbers and Authority, for These have no Weight with me, except in Matters of Religion only; and there Authority single is Argument sufficient to induce my Belief of things, which my Reason cannot comprehend. This is its proper Empire, but out of these Territories Reason reigns and hath absolutely Jurisdiction, as*

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St. Augustin himself hath very truly and very ingenuously acknowledged. 'Tis a most unjust Usurpation over our Native Rights and Liberties, the very Madness of Tyranny and Rage, to think to enslave us to All that either the Ancients have deliver'd, or the Generality of the World entertained: But especially the Latter, since the greater Part of Mankind know neither what they do, nor say. None but Fools will suffer themselves to be led by the Nose at this rate; and for such this Book I confess is not calculated; if it should meet with Popular Acceptance, I should suspect it did not answer its Character. The Ancient Authors ought indeed to be heard, and considered and duly respected; but to be captivated by them, is an Excess of Veneration they must not pretend to. For though a Man should hear all, and pay a Deference to some, yet he must assent and yield up his Mind to none, but Reason only. And indeed, put the Case we might, and would be governed by Authorities; yet I would be glad to know how this is possible to be done; or how we shall find such an Agreement among them, as shall enable us to say, Authority is on our side. Aristotle, for Instance, pretended to be the greatest Man that had then appeared in the World; he took upon him to arraign and condemn all that had gone before him; and yet he said and wrote more absurd Things, than all of Them put together had ever thought of. Nay, he is inconsistent with himself, and many times does not know what he would be at; of which his wild Notions, concerning The Soul of Man,
The

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The Eternity of the World, The Generation of Winds and Waters, &c. are undeniable Testimonies. And, in truth, a Man who considers the Matter will find, that to have all People of the same Opinion would be infinitely more prodigious and amazing, than to find them otherwise. For Diversity of Opinions is as comely and beautiful in the Minds of Men, as Variety is in the Works of Nature. That Wise as well Inspired Apostle St. Paul allows a great Liberty, in these Two Rules; Let every Man be fully persuaded in his own Mind; and Let no Man condemn or despise others of a different Judgment and Behaviour. And it is observable, that these Directions are given in a Matter much nicer and of greater consequence, than what we now treat of. For they do not concern Actions merely Humane, and External, and civil Compliances, in which I have declar'd, that my Wise Man should not take upon him to be singular, nor think it any Diminution of his Character, to submit and conform to Custom and Prescription: But St. Paul's Rules are of a Religious Consideration; and relate to such Distinctions of Meats and Days, as Men thought themselves bound upon a Principle of Conscience to make; Whereas all the Hardiness and Freedom I contend for, is only that which enlarges a Man's Thoughts and private Opinions from Captivity and Restraint; and such as no other Person is or can be concern'd in, but what a Man is entirely and solely accountable to himself for.

Rom. xiv.

3, 5.

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Fourthly, However, to give all reasonable Satisfaction even in this Point too; In regard some Things might seem too crude and hard for the weaker sort of People, (those of strong and sound Constitutions I am sensible will relish and digest them all very well,) in Tenderneſs and Condeſcenſion to ſuch queaſie Stomachs, I have taken Care, in this Second Edition, to explain, illuſtrate, and ſoften any thing that might offend their feeblér Judgments. And accordingly do now preſent you with a Book diligently re-viſ'd, and conſiderably enlarged above what it was before.

Laſtly, I beg leave of the Reader, who undertakes to paſs a Judgment upon this Work, that he will permit me to forewarn him of Seven dangerous Miſtakes, which other Perſons by falling into already, have entertained a leſs favourable Opinion of the Former Edition, than I have the Vanity to think it deſerved.

The Firſt is, That he would make a Difference between Matter of Fact and Right; and not from what is related as Done, conclude That ought to be Done.

Secondly, To make a great Difference between Acting and Judging; and not conclude from any Liberty of Opinion maintain'd by me, that I pretend to vindicate the ſame Liberty in Behaviour.

Thirdly, That he would not look upon all That as Reſolved and Determined, and Declared in Favour of, which is only offered to Conſideration,
Argued

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Argued and Disputed Problematically, and in the old Academick Way.

Fourthly, *That what I relate from, or concerning other People, be not imputed to Me, or pass for my own Sense and Judgment of the Thing.*

Fifthly, *That what is spoken of the Mind and its internal Qualifications, be not appropriated to any Sort or Profession of Men, or extended to outward and particular Circumstances and Conditions.*

Sixthly, *That what is spoken of Humane Opinion, be not applied to Religion and Matters of Faith.*

And Seventhly, *That what belongs to Virtue, and Actions merely Natural and Moral, be not interpreted of Grace and Supernatural Operations.*

Let my Reader but lay aside all Prejudice and Passion, and take these Cautions along with him, and I am well assured, his own Scruples may be resolved by them, the Objections raised by himself or others against this Treatise abundantly answered, and the Design I had in it, cleared from all Blame or Suspicion. But if, after all, he be still dissatisfied, let him come forth into fair Combat, and attack me openly. For to traduce, and snarle and mangle an Author's Reputation in a Corner, is I confess an easie, but withal a Base, and Pedantick Practice, unworthy Men of Sense or Honour. And, since this Book makes particular Pretences to Ingenuity, and fair Dealing, I promise any
generous

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generous Adversary, either to do him the Honour of freely acknowledging my Mistakes, and submitting to his better Reasons; or else to examine his Objections, and endeavour to make both Him and the World, sensible of their Impertinence and Folly.

An

*An Explanation of the Figure in
the Frontispiece of this Book.*

AT the upper end of the Page, and over the Title of the Book, you have *Wisdom* represented by a beautiful Woman; She is naked; yet so that there is no Offence given to the Chastest Eyes, (intimating, that she needs not any Additional Beauties, or the Assistance of Art to recommend Her, but is natural, plain, and simple; yet so as in the midst of Nature and Simplicity to have always a strict regard to Modesty.) Her Countenance is Healthful and Masculine, Smiling and Cheerful, Strong and Authoritative. Her Body Streight, with her Feet fixed close together, upon a Cube, that denotes Justice, and Firmness. Her Arms a-cross, as if she were embracing her self; intimating, that she is happy in, and satisfy'd with her self. Upon her Head she wears a Crown of Laurel and Olive, which imports Victory and Peace. The void Space round about her, signifies Liberty: She looks in a Glass, held by a Hand coming out of a Cloud, at some distance from her, which presents her with the Reflection of her own Face; for Wisdom is employ'd in the Knowledge and Contemplation of her self. Upon her Right-side are these

An Explanation of the Frontispiece.

See Book II.
Chap. vi.
Fig. 6.

these Words, *I know not* ; not thereby to give Countenance to perpetual Doubt and Scepticism ; but arguing, that she is mature and cautious in Deliberating, slow in Determining ; not positive or peremptory, but reserving an Ear open for fresh Reasons, and not ashamed to confess, that the best Human Knowledge is still dark and imperfect. On the Left-side are those other Words, *Peace, and a little* ; which are the Author's own Device, represented by a Root impaled, wound about with an Olive-Branch, and incircled with two Branches of Laurel in an Oval Form ; implying, that a Competency is sufficient ; and that Men have it in their own Power to be easie and contented.

Below, on each side the Title, are Four little, deformed, wretched, wrinkled Old Women, bound in Chains ; the End of which is fasten'd to the Pedestal of Wisdom ; who despises, condemns, and tramples them under her Feet. The Two on the Right-side of the Title are Passion and Opinion ; Passion hath a meagre and discomposed Countenance, intimating Disorder and Fury. Opinion hath wild staring Eyes, an unsettled and sturdy Face : She is supported by several Persons, denoting the Extravagance and general Infection of vulgar Errors, and how fond of, and how stiff the common People are in them. The other Two on the Left-side of the Inscription are Superstition, with an amazed Look, her Hands clasped together like a Slave trembling for Fear ; shewing the Terrors and Astonishment of People possess'd

An Explanation of the Frontispiece.

possess'd with this Phrensie of the Mind : And Lastly, there is Learning, which is a counterfeit, artificial, acquir'd, and Pedantic Virtue ; a Slave to Laws, and Customs, and Forms ; with a swell'd Face, a haughty arrogant Look, bold staring Eyes ; and she reads in a Book, wherein is written, *Yea, Nay* ; importing the Vanity and Confidence of Learned Men, their Eternal Disputes, and the wide Disagreement of their Notions ; and yet the Presumption and Positiveness they betray in the midst of all this Difference and Uncertainty. And Lastly, The Chains which terminate in the Footstool of Wisdom, shew that Captivity of the Mind, which all these Qualities bring Men under, which they who study Wisdom labour to get above ; and they who attain to it, break those Fetters, and are wholly free from that miserable Bondage.

A Brief

A
Brief Account
OF THE
AUTHOR.

From the *French*.

PETER CHARRON was born at *Paris*, in the Year 1541, and Baptized in *St. Hilary's Church* in the *Clos Bru-neau*. His Father was one *Theobald Charron*, a Bookseller; and his Mother's Name was *Ni-cole de la Barre*. By Her, *Theobald* had One and Twenty Children; and Four more by a former Wife: So that our Author had no less than Four and Twenty Brothers and Sisters; and yet, which is very remarkable, among all this numerous Family, there is not any Male-Issue now remaining. The Condition of his Parents was not very plentiful; and their Ex-pence, 'tis plain, was great; but however, in regard they saw something in their Son *Peter*, which was very forward and promising, and argu'd a more than common Capacity, they took

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took the Hint from Nature's Kindness, and put him out to a very good School. After he had made sufficient Progress in *Greek* and *Latin*, he took care to qualifie himself with other Sciences, and Parts of Human Learning, and study'd Logick, Metaphysicks, Moral and Natural Philosophy. From thence he proceeded to the Civil and Canon Law in the Universities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*, where he commenced Doctor in that Faculty. At his return to *Paris*, he betook himself to the Profession of the Law, and was admitted Advocate in the Court of Parliament; Where Business often call'd him to the Barr, which he always declar'd to be the best and most improving School in the World: And accordingly, he took care to lose none of the Publick Hearings; From whence his Mind took so strong a Tincture, that a Man may plainly discern the Effects of it in his Discourses, by the proper Application of Maxims and Terms of Law. This Course he continu'd some Five or Six Years; but foreseeing, that Preferment this way, if ever attained at all, was like to come hard and slow, (he neither having Relations among the Solicitors and Proctors of the Court, nor particular Interest, nor Spirit little enough to cringe, and flatter, and wriggle himself into Business) he gave over that Employment, and apply'd himself close to the study of Divinity. To this purpose he read the Fathers, and eminent Doctors of the Church; and having a Tongue well hung, and a
Style

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Style free and easie, but yet refined and lofty too, above the rate of common Preachers; he made use of this Talent, by the Permission of the Parochial Clergy, and that with so good Success, that he quickly came into Reputation and Esteem with the Greatest and most Learned Men of his Time; Inasmuch that the Bishops and greatest Prelates about the Town, seem'd to be in some sort of Strife, which of them should get him into his Diocess. Particularly my Lord *Arnaud de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazas*, a Prelate of excellent Learning, having heard him preach at *St. Paul's Church*, in the Year 1571, was so in love with him, that he took him away from the Place of his Birth, and carry'd him to *Xaintes* and *Bordeaux*, and into his Bishoprick of *Bazas*, and several other Places in *Gascony*, and *Languedoc*, where his admirable Eloquence acquired so just Renown, that he had Proffers made by several Bishops, of being the Theological Canon (or Divinity-Lecturer) in their Churches; and of several other Dignities and Benefices, besides several noble Presents made him. In short, he was Theologal at *Bazas*, *Ars*, *Le-thoure*, *Agen*, *Chaors*, and *Condom* successively; Canon and School-master in the Church of *Bordeaux*, and Chanter in the Church of *Condom*. Queen *Margaret*, Dutches of *Valois*, was pleased to entertain him for her Preacher in Ordinary; and the then King, tho' at that time of the Reform'd Religion, was extremely pleas'd with his Sermons, and frequently

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frequently did him the Honour to hear them. He was also a Retainer to the late Cardinal *d' Armagnac*, Legat to his Holiness at *Avignon*, who had a great Value for him. He did great Good by his persuasive way of Preaching, and by the Excellencies both of his Life and Doctrine, for Two and Thirty Years together, converted and establish'd many. He never took any Degree or Title in Divinity, but satisfy'd himself with deserving and being capable of the Highest; and had therefore no other Title or Character but That of *Priest* only. He never saw *Paris* in Seventeen or Eighteen Years, and then resolv'd to come and end his Days there; but being a great Lover of Retirement, he had obliged himself by Vow to become a *Carthusian*; and was absolved of it about the end of the Year 1588. He went from *Bordeaux* coming by *Xaintes* and *Angers*, where he made several learned Sermons, and arriv'd at *Paris*, at the time the States were conven'd at *Blois*. Then he presented himself to the Prior of the *Carthusians*, one *John Michel*, a Person of great Piety, who since dy'd Prior-General of the great *Carthusian* Monastery in *Dauphiné*. To Him he communicated his Intention; but it was not accepted, by reason of his Age, which was not less than Seven or Eight and Forty. And all the most pressing Intreaties he could use were ineffectual; for the Excuse was still this, That That Order required all the Vigour of Youth to support its Austerities. Hereupon he addrest himself to the Provincial

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cial of the *Celestines* in *Paris* ; but there too with the same Success, and upon the same Reasons alledged for repulsing him. Thus after having done his utmost to fulfil his Vow, and himself not being in any degree accessory to its not taking effect, he was assured by *Faber* Dean of the *Sorbon*, *Tyrius* a *Scotch* Jesuite, and *Feuardent* a *Franciscan*, all very learned and able Divines, that there lay no manner of Obligation upon him from that Vow : But that he might with a very safe and good Conscience, continue in the World as a Secular, and was at large, and at his own Disposol, without any need of entering into any other Religious Order. Hereupon, in the Year 1589, he returned back by *Angers*, where he preached the whole Lent, to the great Admiration and Benefit of the People. From thence he went back again to *Bordeaux*, where he contracted a very intimate Acquaintance and Friendship with Monsieur *Michel de Montagne*, Knight of the Order of the *King*, and Author of the Book so well known by the Title of *Montagne's Essays*. For him Monsieur *Charron* had a very great Esteem, and did from him receive all possible Testimonies of a reciprocal Affection : For, (among other things) Monsieur *Montagne* order'd by his last Will, that in regard he left no Issue-Male of his own, Monsieur *Charron* should after his Decease, be entituled to bear the Coat of Arms, plain, and as they belong'd to his Noble Family. The Troublesome Times detaining Monsieur

Charron

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Charron at *Bordeaux*, from the Year 1589, to that of 1593, he composed his Book called *Les Trois Veritez, The Three Truths*, and published it in 1594, but without his Name to it. This was received with great Applause of Learned Men, and they printed it after the *Bordeaux* Copy two or three times at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Brussels* in *Flanders*, under the Sham-Name of *Benedict Valiant, Advocate of the Holy Faith*; because the Third Part of that Book contains a Defence of the Faith, in answer to a little Tract concerning the Church, written formerly by the *Sieur Plessis de Mornay*. The Publication of this Book brought him into the Acquaintance of Monsieur *Antony d' Ebrard de S. Sulpice*, Bishop and Count of *Caors*, who upon perusing and liking the Book, sent for Monsieur *Charron*, tho' he had never seen him before, made him his Vicar-General, and Canon-Theologal in his Church, which he accepted; and there he put out the *Second Edition*, with his own Name to it in 1595, enlarging it also with a Reply to an Answer, printed at *Rochelle*, and written against what he called his *Third Truth*.

While he was at *Caors*, the King was pleased to summon him to the General Assembly of all the Clergy of *France*, held the same Year 1595. Hither he came in the Quality of a Deputy, and was chosen first Secretary to the Assembly. As he was in this Attendance, an Invitation was sent him to preach at *St. Eustache's Church*, the most populous Parish

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Parish in the whole City of *Paris*, which he did upon *All-Saints-Day* 1595, and two Days after. As also the Six Sundays in *Lent* 1596. In 1599 he returned to *Caors*, and in that Year, and 1600, he composed Eight Discourses upon *the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper*; as many others upon *the Knowledge and Providence of God*, *the Redemption of the World*, *the Communion of Saints*: And likewise his *Books of Wisdom*. While he was thus employing himself, and enjoying that Retirement at *Caors*, my Lord *John Chemin* Bishop of *Condom*, presented him with the Chanter-ship in his Church, to draw him over into that Diocess: But having at the same time an Offer from *M. Mirom*, Bishop of *Angers*, and being courted by Him, to reside at *Anjou*, this was most agreeable to his Inclination. The making a determinate Resolution was a Work of Time; for his Affection and Convenience drawing several Ways, kept the Balance long in suspense. *Anjou* he looked upon as the sweetest Dwelling, the most delightful Retreat that *France* could give him; but that Province being then embroyl'd in Civil Wars, (for *Bretany* was not then reduced, and so like to make a very troublesome Neighbour) *Condom* carry'd the Point. It happen'd too, that the Theological Chair at *Condom* was just then void, and this being tendred him by the same Bishop, he accepted that, and resolved to set up his Staff there. To this purpose he bought a House, which he built new, and furnished to his own Fancy

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cy and Convenience; resolving to give himself all the Ease and Diversion he could, and make the best of his growing Years, the Infirmities whereof would be soften'd at least by good Humour, and a pretty Dwelling. After he was settled at *Condom*, he printed those *Christian Discourses* mention'd just now, which were Sixteen in all; and also his *Books of Wisdom* at *Bordeaux*, in the Year 1601, which gave him a great Reputation, and made his Character generally known: So that Monsieur *Charron* began from that time to be reckon'd among the Glories and topping Wits of *France*. Particulrrly Messieur *Claude Dormy*, Bishop of *Bologne by the Sea*, and Prior of *St. Martin's in the Fields* at *Paris*, wrote him several Letters upon that occasion; expressing the great Esteem he had for Him and his Writings, and as a Testimony of his Value and Opinion of him, offer'd him the Theologal's Place in his Church. These Letters made Monsieur *Charron* desirous to see *Paris* once more, that so he might contract a Personal Acquaintance with, and express his Acknowledgments for the Favours of this great Prelate; and at the same time, in hope to get an Opportunity of reprinting his Books and Discourses, with the Addition of some new Tracts. For indeed the Impression at *Bordeaux* he thought wanted correcting; and upon a Review was not at all to his Satisfaction.

In pursuance of this Design, he arriv'd at *Paris* the Third of *October*, 1603, and in a

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convenient time afterwards he went to pay his Respects to the Bishop of *Bologne*, who receiv'd him with great Civility and Kindness, and repeated his Offer of that Preferment, merely to have him near himself, and more within the Eye of the Court. Monsieur *Charron* return'd him many Thanks for the Honour he had done him, and the good Intentions he was pleas'd to entertain for his Advancement. And with his usual Freedom, told an Advocate in the Parliament, who was a particular Friend of his, that he could be well pleas'd to accept that Preferment for some Years, but that the Moisture and Coldness of the Air, and its Nearness to the Sea, did not only make it a Melancholy and Unpleasant Place, but very Unwholsome, and Rheumatick, and Foggy too. That the Sun was his visible God, as God was his invisible Sun; and therefore, since he had no Hope of seating himself at *Bologne* with Safety to his Health, he thought it much better not to venture thither at all.

During his Stay at *Paris*, he lodg'd at one *Bertaud's* a Bookseller, that he might be near the Press, and correct the new Edition of his Books of Wisdom, of which he liv'd to see but Three or Four Sheets wrought off. For on *Sunday* the Sixteenth of *November*, 1603, going out of his Lodging, about one of the Clock, at the Corner of *St. John Beauvais* Street, he call'd to his Servants and complain'd he found himself Ill: And immediately, while they ran to hold him up he fell
upon

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upon his Knees, and with his Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven, he expired upon the Spot, without the least Agony or Appearance of Pain. His Disease was an *Apoplex*, and the Quantity of extravasated Blood was so great, that no Humane Help could have preserved him. The Body was kept Two Days, but the Physicians being well satisfied that he was actually dead, and the Blood too which settled about his Throat, beginning to mortifie, and grow offensive, they buried him with great Decency, and a very Honourable Attendance, in *St. Hilary's Church*, the Eighteenth of the same Month; where his Father, Mother, most of his Brothers and Sisters, and a great many other Relations were Interred. The Day of his Funeral he had his Face expos'd to view, and his Body drest in the Priest's Habit, as if he had been going to Officiate at Mass. And this was done by a particular Direction of his own; for he had frequently left those Orders in Charge, provided his Death happen'd to be such, as wrought no mighty Change or Deformity in his Person.

As to his Person, He was of a moderate Stature, inclining to Fat; of a smiling Countenance and cheerful Humour; a large open Fore-head; streight Nose, pretty large downwards; light blue Eyes; his Complexion Fresh and Ruddy; his Hair and Beard very White, though he had not yet got through his Climacterick, being about Sixty Two Years and a Half when he died. The Air of his Face

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was always Gay, without the least Allay of Melancholy; his Mien Graceful; his Voice Strong and Distinct; his Expression Masculine and Bold: His Health Firm and Constant; he had no Complaints, either from Age or Indispositions, till about Three Weeks before his Death. Then indeed he now and then, while he was in Motion, felt a Pain in his Breast, and found himself oppress'd with Shortness of Breath. But this presently went off again after a little Rest, and fetching his Breath deep. However he acquainted his Physician the eminent *Sieur Marscot* with his Case, who advis'd him by all means to open a Vein; assuring him, that all his Illness proceeded from fulness of Blood, and, if some Course were not taken speedily to prevent it, a Suffocation might ensue. And accordingly it happen'd; for in all probability, the neglecting this Advice of bleeding quickly, was the very thing that cost *Monsieur Charron* his Life.

His Books of Wisdom and Christian Discourses were printed off after his Death, by the Particular Care of an Intimate Friend, whom he had charged with the Inspection of them in his Life-time: And abundant Satisfaction was given to the World, that the Author himself had in this Impression added, and corrected several Passages. Some particularly, which not Others only, but Himself also thought necessary to be changed from that first Impression at *Bordeaux*, in 1601. By these Alterations he hath explained his

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his Meaning, strengthened his Arguments, softened many Expressions without any Material Alteration of the Sense. All which was done Principally in Compliance with the World; to obviate the Malice of Some, and condescend to the Infirmities of Others. The whole had been perused and approved by some very good Friends, and Persons of sound Judgment; and till They had declar'd themselves satisfied and pleas'd, he could not prevail with himself to be so. But above all, he submitted his Writings to the Church; and hop'd there was nothing there, that might call for a just Censure, or minister ground of Offence, either to Religion in general, or to that Communion, of which he was a Member, in particular.

As to his peculiar Manner of handling the Subjects he undertook to treat of, whether in Books or Sermons, he was us'd to say, that there are Three Ways of expressing and communicating a Man's Thoughts, which bear Proportion, and seem to be adapted to the Three Several Faculties of the Mind; the *Imagination*, the *Memory*, and *Understanding*. One of these proceeds upon Rules of Art, runs upon Etymologies and Distinctions of Words and Things, Definitions, Divisions, Subdivisions, Causes, Effects, Accidents, and the like. A Second collects together what other People have thought or said upon the Occasion, and values it self upon the nicety of quoting Books, and Chapters, and Pages: The Third is free and generous, including
and

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and doing in a manner all that both the former pretend to, but without any Ostentation of doing so, or enslaving it self to Niceties of Method, and Rules of Art. The First of These he used to say was fit for Schools, and to instruct young Beginners: The Second too much in Vogue with Preachers and Orators, who in Effect only tack together other Peoples Notions, and those too very often after an affected and impertinent Manner; for having nothing to say for themselves, they make other People speak for them, though never so little to the Purpose. In respect of this Way he declar'd himself of a Judgment directly opposite to the generality of the World; That to stuff a Discourse with Quotations was an Argument rather of Weakness and Ignorance, than of Wisdom. That Men took this Course in all likelihood to set themselves and their great Reading off to the World, which after all amounts to no more than a good Memory: And This, if not attended with Judgment, is no such mighty Commendation. That These things are oftentimes brought in at random, and all Adventures; picked up from Common-place Books, and Indexes, where they find Stuff ready made up to their Hands, and so they vend it without more to do. Allegations indeed have their Uses and proper Seasons; they are absolutely necessary in controverted Points, where the Cause is to be decided by Authorities; But then they ought to be used with Moderation, and in Measure;

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Measure ; and good Care taken, that they be home to the purpose ; that Prudence be used in the Choice of them ; for generally the Fewer and the Weightier, to be sure the Better they are. For it was his Opinion, that of all the Three Manners of Expressing our Thoughts, This was the least valuable.

As for the Third, That indeed was infinitely the best, and the Persons who make it their Method, are by much the greatest and most significant Men. Antiquity and Authority were thus far of his side ; The Ancient *Homilists* being so many Examples of it, in whose Writings and Orations you very seldom, or never, find a Quotation ; and in truth the old Authors, of all Sorts and Professions, seem to make sound Reason, and good Sense their Business. This being the proper, the generous Food for entertaining Men desirous of Knowledge, and of distinguishing Minds. This relishes and shews more of Judgment, and Understanding, which are Nobler, and more Exalted Parts of the Mind, than Memory. Lastly, This is infinitely the most Free and Noble in it self, and more Delightful and Improving to Hearers, Readers, and the Person who makes use of it too, than any other Method whatsoever : For by this, Men are rather made Wise than Learned ; and more accustomed to examine and make a Judgment of Things. Consequently the Will is directed, and the Conscience informed this way, whereas the rest are good for nothing, but to stuff his Memory,
and

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and Imagination, with other Peoples Notions, or little trifling Niceties. This Account I thought not improper to trouble the Reader with, because from hence he will guess, what he is to expect in this Treatise, and see withal what kind of Taste our Author had in Matters of this Nature.

As for what relates to his Temper, Manners, Conversation, and Actions, whether in Publick or Private, I shall need to say only thus much ; That he made it his Constant Business, to render them conformable to those Rules and Maxims contained at large in this Second Book of the following Treatise ; and was very successful, and very accurate in the Undertaking : What Persuasion and Church he was of, his *Three Verities* abundantly declare ; as do likewise his Christian Discourses, which were printed since his Death, and make a convenient Volume by themselves. How strict and conscientious he was, may appear from this single Instance ; That, though he were possess'd of several Theological Canonries one after another, yet he would never be prevailed with to resign any of them, in Favour of any Person : nor to name his Successor ; for fear of giving Occasion to the Censure, of having upon private Respects put in an unqualify'd Man, and One who was not worthy to fill such a Post. But he constantly gave them up freely and clearly, into the Hands of those Bishops who had collated him.

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The last Thing I shall mention upon this Occasion is his Last Will; which was made and written all with his own Hand in *January* 1602, and after his Decease, registred in the Office at *Condom*. In This he first returns most humble Thanks to God, for all the Mercies and Benefits which by His Bounty he had enjoyed in his Life-time; begs him most earnestly for his infinite and incomprehensible Mercy's Sake, in the Name of his Well-beloved Son, and our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ; and for His Merits shed and multiplied upon all his Members the Elect Saints, to grant him Favour, and full Pardon for all his Offences; to receive him for his own Child; to assist and conduct him with his Holy Spirit, during his Continuance in this World, that he might ever remain in a sound Mind, and the true Love and Service of Him his God; and that at the Hour of Death, he would receive his Soul to himself, admit him into the Society and sweet Repose of his Well-beloved ones, and inspire all his Holy and Elect Saints with a Pious and Charitable Disposition, to pray, and make *Intercession* for him.

Then proceeding to the Legacies, he bequeaths among other Things; To the Church of *Condom*, provided his Corps be Interr'd there, Two Hundred *Livres* (*Tournois*) upon Condition that every Year upon the Day of his Death, High Mass shall be once said in his Behalf, and Absolution once pronounc'd over his Grave. He gives moreover to the Maintenance of poor Scholars, and young Girls,
Two

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Two Thousand Four Hundred Crowns, the yearly Income hereof to be distributed for ever, the one Moiety to Three or Four Scholars; the other to Three, Four, or Five young Maidens, at the Discretion of his Executors, of which he constituted Five: The Master of *St. Andrew's School*, and Rector of the Jesuites at *Bordeaux* for the time being; his Heir, and Two of his Friends; the Three Last to name some other Persons to succeed in this Trust after their Decease, with This Qualification, that they nominate such only, as are well known and reputed for their Abilities, Honesty, and Charity. And that any Three of these in the Absence of the rest, might manage, and dispose Things as they should see convenient: Likewise he gives, and bequeaths to *Mrs. Leonora Montagne*, Wife to the *Sieur de Camin*, King's Counsel in the Parliament at *Bordeaux*, half Sister to the late *Sieur de Montagne*, the Summ of Five Hundred Crowns. And her Husband, *Monsieur Camin*, he constitutes his sole Heir; He paying the Charges, and Legacies contained in his Will, amounting in the whole to about Fifteen Thousand *Livres Tournois*, in the Gross Summ.

What hath been thus lightly touched upon, is a sufficient Evidence how Religious and Conscientious a Person *Monsieur Charron* was; that he feared God, led a pious and good Life, was Charitably disposed; a Person of Wisdom and Conduct, Serious and Considerate; a great Philosopher, an eloquent Orator, a famous and powerful Preacher; richly
furnished

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furnished and adorned with the most excellent Virtues and Graces both Moral and Divine: Such as made him very remarkable and singular; and deservedly gave him the Character of a Good Man and a Good Christian; such as preserve a great Honour and Esteem for his Memory among Persons of Worth and Virtue, and will continue to do so, as long as the World shall last.

OF

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O F
WISDOM,
THE
FIRST BOOK;

*Which consists of the Knowledge of a Man's
own self ; and the Condition of Humane
Nature in general.*

*An Exhortation to the Study and Knowledge
of ones self.*

The Introduction to this whole First B O O K.

I.

THERE is not in the World any Advice more excellent and divine in its own Nature, more useful and beneficial to us, nor any at the same time less attended to, and worse practis'd, than that of studying and attaining to the Knowledge of our selves. This is in Truth the Foundation upon which all *Wisdom* is built, the direct and high Road to all *Happiness*. And sure no *Folly* can be compar'd to that which draws off Mens Attention, and employs their Diligence and Pains in the Search of other Objects, and fixes them every
B where,

where, any where, rather than upon themselves : For when all is done, the true Learning is at home, and the proper Science and Subject for Man's Contemplation, is *Man* himself.

2.
*The Di-
states of
Universal
Reason.*

Were this Advice thus generally neglected for want of being seasonably or sufficiently given, the Omission were more excusable : But the Matter is quite otherwise : For *God, Nature, Wise Men, the World,* All conspire to inculcate it ; and both by the Instructions they give, and the Examples they set, preach this Doctrine, and loudly call upon *Man* to make Himself the Employment of his own *Thoughts*, and the Object of his own *Studies*. God, we know, is perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of Himself ; and the unspeakable Happiness, as well as constant Business, of that vast Eternity, is the viewing, considering, and knowing his own Infinite Perfections.

The World is so contriv'd, as to have all its Eyes turn'd inward ; and the several Parts of this Universe are ever beholding the Beauties and Conveniences of themselves, or of one another : 'For Heaven, and Earth, and Air, and Sea, may seem so many independent Bodies, yet are they in reality but so many distinct Parts of one Body ; and the mutual Regards of these to each other, are but the several Prospects which one vast united Whole takes of it self. So perpetually are the Eyes of the World open upon it self, so necessarily contracted and determin'd to it self alone. But why should we go abroad for Arguments, who have such convincing ones at home ? For Man hath this Engagement to study and know Himself, which no other Part of the World hath, that it is natural to him to *think*. This is the peculiar Character, the very Essence of Man, and nothing is so near, nothing presents it self so immediately to his Thought as Himself. So that Nature here hath plainly taught

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our Duty, and shewed that this is the Work she cuts out for every Man. Nothing can be so easy, as for a Man to meditate, and entertain his Thoughts. It is incomparably the most frequent, most common, most natural Practice. *Thought* is the Food, the Support, the Life of the Mind; it must needs be so indeed, since the very * *Essence of Mind is Cogitation*. And where, I pray, shall this Mind begin? Where will you find a more proper Subject for its Exercise and Entertainment than its own self? Can there be any more natural, any that hath a greater Right to this Contemplation? any that is nearer related, or that more highly concerns it to be well acquainted with? Certainly, to ramble abroad, and fix upon Foreign Matters, and at the same time quite overlook and forget ones self, is the greatest Injustice, and the most unnatural Neglect that can be. No doubt, every Man's true Business, and the Thing he is properly call'd to, is the thinking of Himself, and being well employ'd to see how Matters go at home. These are our Trade and our Concern; the rest but Entertainment and Diversion. And thus we see it is in every other Creature. Each of these takes care of it self, makes the Study of it self the first and principal Business, hath Bounds set to its Desires, and employs not it self, nor hath any Aim beyond such a certain Compass: And yet thou, O vain Man, who wilt be grasping at the Universe, who pretendest to Knowledge unlimited, and takest upon thee to controul and to judge every Thing, art perfectly ignorant of thy own self; and not at any Pains to be otherwise. Thus whilst thou labourest to render thy self the most accomplish'd Part of the Creation; whilst thou sittest like a Censor upon Nature, and determinest magisterially, and with an

* Cujus vivere est cogitare.

Air of Wisdom ; Thou, in reality, art the greatest Ignorant ; Thou, all the while, the only Fool in the whole World : Thou art the emptiest and most wanting, the most impotent and most wretched ; and yet in despite of all these Mortifications, the proudest and most conceited, the most arrogant and disdainful Creature upon Earth. Look at home then for Shame ; turn thine Eyes inward, and employ thy Senses there. Call back thy wandering Mind, the Understanding, and thy Will, which rove and spend their Strength unprofitably abroad, and fix them in the Consideration of themselves. Thou art busy, and yet negligent ; beggarly, and yet profuse : For thou lovest and wastest thy self in Things without, and forgettest quite what is thy own within. Thus thou art a Thief and a Traytor to thy self : Restore then what thou hast thus falsely stolen away ; and instead of gazing round, and looking always before thee, collect thy self, and confine thy Thoughts at home : Look diligently within thee ; search curiously there, and know thy self perfectly. Thus our wise Masters have advised.

Dryden.

** Weigh no Merit by the common Scale.
The Conscience is the Test of every Mind ;
Seek not thy self without thy self to find.
Please not thy self the flatt'ring Croud to hear ;
'Tis fulsome Stuff to feed thy itching Ear.
Reject the nauseous Praises of the Times : —
Survey thy Soul ; not what thou dost appear,
But what thou art, and find the Beggar there.*

*Dryden.
Eng. Pers.*

** Nosce teipsum ! — nec te quæsiveris extra.
Respue quod non es. — Pers. Sat. 1.
Tecum habita, & noris quam sit tibi curia supellex. Pers. Sat. 4.*

** Sift*

* Sift well thy Soul, its Product nicely view,
And learn from whence thy Tares and Darnel grew ;
Which are to Nature, which to Custom due.
If the thin Crop sprung from a Soil too lean,
Or long neglected Weeds have choak'd the generous Grain.

The Knowledge of a Man's self is a Step to the Knowledge of God : The best and shortest Method we can possibly take of raising our Minds up to Heaven. It must needs be so, because there is no other thing capable of being known by us, which carries such lively Stroaks, such express Images and Characters, such clear and convincing Testimonies of God, as Man does : And also because whatever there is of this kind, may be more perfectly known by us : For a Man must be of necessity more sensible of those Faculties and Motions, which are within himself, and better qualify'd to give an Account of them, than he can be of those which belong to any other Creature ; because these are at some distance from him, and he cannot possibly be alike conscious of them. † *Thou hast fashioned and closed me in, and laid thy hand upon me : therefore is thy Knowledge become wonderful.* That is, The Knowledge of Thee, which results from the Contemplation of my self, and the Resemblance of the Humane to the Divine Nature (as some interpret that Passage.) From hence perhaps it was, that Apollo (who among the Heathens was esteem'd) the God of Knowledge and of Light, had this Inscription *KNOW THY SELF*, engraven in Characters of Gold upon the Front of his Temple, as a necessary Greeting, and Advertisement from the God, to all that should approach him ; intimating

3.
A Scale
leading to
Divine
Wisdom.

Psal. 139.
5, 6.

* Tu te consule.

Te ipsum concute, nunquid vitiorum,
Inseverit olim natura, aut etiam consuetudo mala.

† Mirabilis facta est scientia tua, i. e. tui ex me.

that this was the first Motion from Ignorance and Darkneſs ; the moſt neceſſary Qualification for gaining Access to ſuch a Deity : That upon theſe Terms only they could be admitted to his Temple, and fit for his Worſhip ; and that all who were not acquainted with themſelves, muſt be excluded from that Place and Privilege. * *If thou know not who thou art, O thou faireſt among Women, go thy way forth and follow thy Kids.*

Cant. i. 8.

*It diſpoſes
Men to be
wiſe.*

Would a Man make it his Buſineſs (as every Man ſure ought to do) to lead the moſt regular, compoſed, and pleaſant Life that can be, we need go no further to fetch Inſtructions for it, than our own ſelves. Had we but the Diligence and Application, as we have the Capacity and the Opportunity to learn, every Man would be able to teach himſelf more and better than all the Books in the World, and all his poring there can ever teach him.

He that ſhall remember, and critically obſerve, the extravagant Sallies of his *Anger*, to what Furies and Frenzies this raging *Fever* of the *Mind* hath formerly transported him, will more diſtinctly ſee the monſtrous Deformity of this Paſſion, and conceive a juſter Abhorrence, and more irreconcilable Hatred againſt it, than all the fine Things that *Ariſtotle* and *Plato* have ſaid upon the Point, can ever work him up to. And the ſame in Proportion may be expected from a Reflection in all other Caſes, where there is a vicious Exceſs, or violent Concuſſion of the Soul. He that ſhall recollect the many falſe Concluſions, which an erroneous Judgment hath led him into, and the Slips and Miſcarriages which an unfaithful Memory hath been guilty of, will learn to be more cautious how he truſts either of theſe for the future : And eſpecially when a

* Si te ignoras, O pulcherrima, egredere, & abi poſt hædos tuos.

Man calls to mind, how many Cases he is able to quote to himself, wherein he thought, all Difficulties sufficiently consider'd, that he was a perfect Master of his Point ; how assured and peremptory he hath been, how forward to answer to himself, and to all he convers'd with ; nay, to stake his Reputation for the Truth of an Opinion, and yet Time and After-Thought have demonstrated the direct contrary: This bold confiding Man, I say, will be taught from hence to distrust such hasty Arrogance, and abandon all that unreasonable and peevish Positiveness and Presumption, which, of all Qualities in the World, is the most opposite, most mortal Enemy to better Information and Discovery of the Truth. The Man that shall reflect upon the many Hazards and Sufferings, in which he hath been actually involved, and the many more that have threatned him ; how slight and trifling Accidents have yet given great Turns to his Fortunes, and changed the whole Face of his Affairs ; how often he hath been forc'd to take new Measures, and found Cause to dislike what once appear'd well design'd and wisely manag'd : This Man will expect and make Provision for Changes hereafter, will be sensible how slippery Ground he stands upon, will consider the Uncertainties of Humane Life, will behave himself with Modesty and Moderation, will mind his own Business, and not concern himself with other People, to the giving them any Offence, or creating any Disturbance, and will undertake to aim at nothing too big for him. And were all Men thus dispos'd, what a Heaven upon Earth should we have? Perfect Peace and Order and Justice every where. In short, the truest Glass we can consult, the most improving Book we can read, is *Our own selves*, provided we would but hold our Eyes open, and keep our Minds fixed with all due Attention upon it ; so bringing to

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a close

a close and distinct View, and watching every Feature, every Line, every Act and Motion of our Souls so narrowly, that none may escape us.

5.

*Against
those who
know not
themselves.*

But alas ! this is the least of our Care, and the farthest thing in our Thoughts.

** Into himself none labours to descend.*

And hence it is that we fall so low and so often. To this must be imputed our perpetual Relapses into the same Fault, without being ever touched with a Sense of our Error, or troubling our selves at all about the matter. We play the fool egregiously, at our own vast Expence : For Difficulties in any case are never rightly understood, except by such as have measur'd their own Abilities. And indeed as a Man must thrust at a Door before he can be sure that it is shut against him ; so there is some degree of Application and good Sense necessary, in order to the perceiving the Defects of ones own Mind. And we cannot have a more infallible Demonstration of the universal Ignorance of Mankind than this, that every Body appears so gay, so forward, so undertaking, so highly satisfy'd ; and that none can be found, who at all question the Sufficiency of their own Understanding. For were we thoroughly acquainted with our selves, we should manage our selves and our Affairs after quite another manner : We should be asham'd of our selves and our Condition, and become a new kind of Creatures. He that is ignorant of his Failings, is in no Pain to correct them ; and he that knows not his Wants, takes no manner of care for Supplies ; and he that feels not his Disease and his Misery, never thinks of repairing the Breaches of his Constitution, or is solicitous for Physick. † *You must know your self before*

** Nemo in sese tentat descendere.*

† Deprehendas te oportet priusquam emendas ; sanitatis initium sentire sibi opus esse remedio.

you can mend your self ; the first Step to Health and Recovery, is the being sensible that you need a Cure. And this very thing is our Unhappiness ; that we think all is safe well. We are highly contented with our selves, and thus all our Miseries are doubled. *Socrates* was pronounc'd the wisest Man ; not for any Excellencies of natural or acquir'd Parts, which render'd him superior to all the World ; but because he understood himself better, behav'd himself with Modesty and Decency, and acted like a Man. Thus *Socrates* was a Prince among Men, as we commonly say, *He that bath one Eye is a King among them that have none.* Such as are doubly blind, and have no Sense at all left : (For so are the Generality of the World ;) Nature makes them weak and wretched at first ; but they make themselves doubly so afterwards, by their Pride, and lofty Conceits of their own Sufficiency, and an absolute Insensibility of their Wants and their Miseries. The former of these Misfortunes *Socrates* shared as well as others ; for he had his blind Side too: That is, he was a Man, and consequently had the same Allay of Infirmary and Misery with other Men : But here was the difference, that he knew he was *but a Man* : He consider'd his Condition, and made no difficulty to acknowledge all the Imperfections of it ; and therefore he dealt honestly, and acted wisely ; for he liv'd and behav'd himself as a Man should do. To this purpose may that Reply be taken, which Truth it self made to the haughty *Pharisees*, who, in Derision, said unto him, *What then ? Are we blind also ? If you were blind* (says he) *that is, if ye were sensible of your Blindness, ye would see better ; but because you say, we see, therefore ye remain stark-blind.* For those who have an Opinion of their own good Sight, are really blind ; and those who are conscious of their own Blindness, are the Men that see best. How wretched

Joh. 9.41.

ed a Folly is it to degenerate into Beasts, by not considering carefully that we are Men? * *Since Nature hath made thee a Man, take care constantly to remember that thou art such.* We read, that several great Persons have order'd that their Attendants should often ring it in their Ears, *That they were Men*, intending that Admonition for a Curb to their Exorbitances. And sure the Practice was admirable, if, as the Sound struck upon their Ears, the Consideration enter'd their Hearts too. What the *Athenians* said to *Pompey the Great*, was not much amiss, *You are so far a God, as you acknowledge your self a Man.* For thus much at least is beyond Contradiction, That the way to be an excellently good Man, is to be thoroughly possess'd with the Sense of one's being a Man.

6.
Means of
coming to
the Know-
ledge of
one's self.
False ones.

Now this Knowledge of one's self (a thing by the way, very difficult to be attain'd, and scarce to be met with; as on the contrary, the mistaking and passing wrong Judgments of one's self, is exceeding obvious and easy :) This Knowledge, I say, is never to be acquir'd by the Help of others. My Meaning is; Not by comparing our selves with others, measuring by them, depending upon their Character, or observing what Argument or Disagreement there is between our Practice and their Example, so that a Man shall applaud or condemn himself, for doing or not doing as they do, or as they like or dislike.

* *What the World says thou art, believe not true,
This Credit only to thy self is due.*

Nor indeed can we depend upon our own Word or Opinion in the case; for This oftentimes is short-

* *Homo cum sis, id fac semper intelligas.*

† *Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli.*

fighted;

fighted ; it discovers not all that is to be seen, and it makes a false Report of what it discovers ; like a treacherous or a brib'd Witness, that shuffles in his Evidence, and is afraid to speak out. Nor can we form a Judgment from any single Action ; for this may come from a Man without being intended, or so much as thought of ; it may be a sudden Push upon an unusual pressing Occasion ; the Work of Necessity, or the Work of Chance ; a lucky Hit, or a sudden Sally ; and owing to Heat or Passion ; to one, to all of these, to any thing indeed, rather than to the Man himself. And therefore we can fix no Character from a thing which is not of our own growth. One courageous Action no more proves a Man Brave, nor one Act of Justice Just, than the breadth and depth of a River, and the strength of its Current, is to be taken from a sudden accidental Flood, when all the neighbouring Brooks empty themselves into it, and swell it above its Banks. For thus there are Circumstances and Accidents in Humane Life too, which, like strong Winds, and rapid Torrents, change our usual Course, and carry us beyond our selves ; and this in so surprizing a manner, that Vice it self hath sometimes put Men upon doing very good Things : So extreamly nice a thing it is, to know Men truly. Again, We can learn nothing to purpose by all the outward Appendages of the Man ; his Employments, Preferments, Honours, Riches, Birth, good Acceptance, and general Applause, of great and common Men ; no, nor yet by his Deportment when he appears abroad ; for there the Man plays in Check, stands upon his Guard, and every Motion is with Reserve and Constraint. Fear, and Shame, and Ambition, and a thousand other Passions, put him upon playing the Part you see then acted. To know him thoroughly, you must follow him into his Closet, see him in the Tiring-Room,

Room, and in his every-day Garb. Alas ! he is oftentimes quite another thing at Home, than what he appears in the Street, at Court, or upon the Exchange ; one sort of Man to Strangers, and another to his own Family. When he goes out of his House, he dresses for the Stage, and the Farce begins ; you can lay no stress upon what you see of him there. This is not the Man, but the Character he sets himself to maintain : And you will never know any thing of him, till you make a difference between the Person of the Comedian that plays, and the Person represented by him.

7.

True ones.

The Knowledge of a Man's self then is not to be compassed by any, or all of these four ways, nor can we rely upon, or make any sure Conclusions from them. The only way to arrive at it, is by a true, long, constant Study of a Man's self ; a serious and diligent Examination, such as shall observe and nicely weigh, not only his Words and Actions, but even his most secret Thoughts, (and that so critically, as to discern how they are first born, upon what they feed, and by what degrees they grow, the time of their Continuance, the manner and the frequency of their Returns upon him.) In short, no Motion of his Mind must escape his Notice ; no, not his very Dreams : He must view himself near, must be eternally prying, handling, pressing, probing, nay, pinching himself to the quick : For there are many Vices in us, that lurk close, and lie deep ; and we know nothing of them because we do not take the Pains to search far enough, and ferret them out : As the venomous Serpent, while numm'd with cold, is handled safely, and Stings not till he is warm'd. And further yet, when all this is done, a Sense and Acknowledgement of particular Failings, and personal Faults, and an endeavour to mend them, will not do the business ; but a Man must be convinced of his Weak-

Weakness and Misery throughout, that every part of him is tainted with it; and from thence he must proceed to amend the whole, and make the Reformation equally general.

To this purpose we will now apply our selves in the First Book of this Treatise, to consider and understand Man; by taking him in every Sense, looking upon him in the several Prospects he is capable of; feeling his Pulse, sounding him to the bottom, going into him with Candles, searching and ransacking every Hole and Corner, every Maze and Labyrinth, every Closet and false Floor, and all the subtil Windings of his Hypocrisy. And all this Niceness little enough, God knows; for he is the cunningest and most dissembling, the closest and most disguis'd Creature alive, and, indeed, almost incapable of being perfectly known. Upon this account we will attempt the Consideration of him under the Five Heads represented by the Table here annexed, which sets before you at one general View, the Substance and the Method of this *First Book*.

8.

The Division of this First Book.

- I. Natural, consisting of the Parts where-
of he is compounded, with their se-
veral Appurtenances.
- II. Natural and Moral ; by stating the
Comparison between Him and Brutes.
- III. By giving a Summary Account of
his Life.
- IV. A Moral Descripti-
on of his Qualities
and Defects, under
Five Heads.
 - 1. Vanity.
 - 2. Weakness.
 - 3. Inconstancy.
 - 4. Misery.
 - 5. Presumption.
- V. Mix'd of
Natural and
Moral ; re-
sulting from
the differen-
ces between
some Men
and others,
in,
 - 1. Their Temper.
 - 2. Their Minds and Ac-
complishments.
 - 3. Their Stations and
Degrees of Quality.
 - 4. Their Professions and
Circumstances.
 - 5. Their Advantages and
Disadvantages ; and,
these { Natural,
again { Acquired , or
either { Accidental.

T H E

First Consideration.

Which is purely Natural; consisting of the several Parts whereof Man is compounded.

C H A P. I.

Of the Formation of Man.

THIS is two-fold, and therefore capable of a double Consideration: For the First and Original Formation was the immediate Work of God's own Hand; and this was Supernatural and Miraculous. The Second is the Work of ordinary Generation, and lineal Descent, according to the common and established Course of Nature,

According to that Image given us by *Moses*, of the Creation of the World, which (for the nine First Chapters of *Genesis*, wherein we have an Account of the First and Second Birth of the Universe, is, without dispute, the boldest, noblest, and most satisfactory System, that ever was publish'd, we may observe several Preferences and Privileges

Gen. I.

vileges peculiar to Man. For he was made by God, not only after all other living Creatures, as the most exquisite and compleat; the Master and Superintendent over the rest (so runs his Original Commission, *Let him have Dominion over the Fishes of the Sea, and over the Fowls of the Air, and over the Beasts of the Field;*) made the same Day with Land-Animals and Four-footed Beasts; which bear the nearest resemblance to him of any other Animals: But made, after all the rest was ended, as the last and finishing Stroke; the Seal with which it pleas'd Almighty God to close up the whole Creation. And accordingly he hath given him such a Bearing and Impress, as plainly speak how nobly he is descended. * *The Brightness of the Divinity strongly reflected upon him.* † *So that each Man is a sort of God in Miniature;* expressly said to be formed in His own Image, and after His Likeness. Man is likewise not only the Creator, but the whole Creation in Little; the Universe in one small Volume: Whence it is that Man is sometime styl'd a *Little World*; and by the same reason the World might be call'd a *Great Man*. He is, as it were, the Mediator of the different Parts of Nature, that Link of this long Chain, by which Angels and Brutes, Heaven and Earth, the Spiritual and Corporeal Creation, are ty'd together; and that void Space supply'd, which would make a wide and most unseemly Gap in the Universe, if not fill'd up, and the Series thus continu'd, by a Creature partaking of both Extremes. In a word, This was the last Touch, the Master-piece, the Honour, and Ornament, nay, the Prodigy, and miraculous Production of Nature. Hence it is that God is represented to us as entering into Consultation, and making this No-

* Signatum est in nos lumen vultus tui.

† Exemplumque Dei quisque est in Imagine parva.

ble Creature with Deliberation and Thought. *God said, let us make Man.* And when he had formed *Gen. 2.* Man, he is said to *have ended* all his Work, and to *have rested.* Nay, even that Rest it self, and the perpetual Commemoration of it, was for His Sake and Benefit. *The Sabbath was made for Man, and not Mark 2: Man for the Sabbath,* says Truth it self. After this there was no new Thing form'd, till that most stupendous Miracle of Mercy, when *God made himself Man:* And this too, as we most truly confess, in one of our Creeds, was *for Us Men, and for Our Salvation.* From whence it is most evident, that God, in all his Actions and Dispensations, hath a constant and more particular regard to Mankind, that They have a Concern in the greatest Works of Providence, and that almost all God's Doings and Administrations are begun and ended with great Respect to Man's Advantage; and so as that the promoting of this, shall be the best and most effectual Means of accommodating and reducing all Things at last to Himself; and Our Happiness be made the proper Instrument of his Glory.

Man was created naked, as being more beautiful than all the rest: The smoothness and delicacy of his Skin, the nice tempering of his Humours and Complexion, making a very advantageous Distinction in this respect, above any other Creature whatsoever.

The Body of Man is erect, and touches the Ground with but a very little part of it; but is set streight upright toward Heaven, where he may contemplate his Great Original, view and take Knowledge of his own Perfections, as in a Glass fitted for that purpose. The Plants are just the very reverse of all this: The Head and Root is bury'd in the Ground; and there they spread, and thence they get Improvement. Brutes are in a Position between these Two: But some of them approach

proach nearer to the one, and some nearer to the other of those Extremes. As to the true Cause of this upright Figure, it is plain, the rational Soul cannot be it : For the Crooked, the Lame, the Deformed, are so many living Instances, and undeniable Proofs to the contrary : Nor can it be the Back-bone form'd in a direct Line ; for Serpents have the same : Nor is it surely the Excess of Natural and Vital Heat above other Creatures ; for many other Animals equal, and some excel us in this respect ; tho' I will not deny, but each of these may contribute somewhat toward it : (And that of the Serpent is the less Objection against the Form of the Back-bone ; because the crawling of that Creature upon his Belly, is expressly declar'd to be a Punishment and lasting Reproach, for the Tempter's having assum'd this Form in working the Seducement and Ruin of our First Parents.) But the very Truth is, Our great and mighty Maker and Master thought this the most convenient Posture, and such as best agreed with the Dignity and Pre-eminence of Humane Nature, particularly upon two Accounts.

Partly as a Mark of Distinction due to the Excellencies of the Humane Mind : Thus the old Poets represented it,

Ovid Met.
Lib. 1.

** A Creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet ; and then was Man design'd :
Conscious of Thought, of more capacious Breast.*

And partly as an Ensign of Royalty ; some Characters whereof Naturalists have observ'd in some other petty Principalities ; such as the Crown in the Dolphin, the Diadem in the Basilisk, the Lion's stately Mane, which serves as a Collar of Honour ; the Colour and the Eyes in the Eagle, and the

* Sanctius his Animal, &c. —————

King

Chap. 1. *Of the Formation of Man.*

19

King among the Bees. But Man being vested with an universal Monarchy, walks stately upon the Earth, like a Master in his own House: He subdues and manages All either by fair means or by foul; captivates and brings them to his Hand by Force; or makes them tractable and tame by gentle and winning Usage. Hence the same Poet proceeds,

*For Empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest,
He, while the mute Creation downward bend
Their Sight, and to their Earthy Mother tend,
Looks up aloft, and with erected Eyes
Beholds his own Hereditary Skies.* Dryden.

His Body was form'd at first out of Virgin-
Earth, of a red Complexion, from whence the
proper Name of *Adam* was deriv'd: For the com-
mon Appellative of the Species in general is *Ish*.
And this well moisten'd, was the common Materi-
als of our Body. So again the Poet,

4.

Adom
Rufus.
Heb. Gen.
2. 6, 7.

** Earth the Wise Maker temper'd into Paste,
And mix'd with living Streams the God-like
Image cast.*

In all Reason, the Body must be before the Soul, as we naturally conceive Matter antecedent to its Form; as the House must be fram'd and fitted up, before we can suppose an Inhabitant in it; and a Shop made and furnish'd, before any Trade can be exercis'd there.

When This was prepar'd and done, the next thing in order was to animate this Body, by the Infusion of a Soul, convey'd thither by Divine Inspiration; For God (says *Moses*) *breathed into him the Breath of*

** Mixtam fluvialibus undis
Finxit in Effigiem.*

Life, and so Man became a living Soul. Of which, what Tradition the Heathen World retain'd, may be learn'd from the same Author, who proposes This as the first probable Solution of that wonderful Production.

——* *With Particles of Heavenly Fire
The God of Nature did his Soul inspire.*

And closes his Account,

† *From such rude Principles our Form began,
And Earth was metamorphos'd into Man.*

5. The same Order seems to be constantly observ'd in ordinary Generations, and the forming of natural Births ever since: For here the Body is first formed, and That, according to the best Remarks which the Curious have been able to make, in, or somewhat near, the following Method. The first Seven Days are employ'd in bringing the Seminal Principles to a due Consistency, and perfecting the Conception, to which some have been apt to think *Jeb* might allude, Chap. X. v. 10. The next Seven Days are taken up in concocting, digesting and changing those first Elements into Flesh and Blood; which is as yet an unformed Mass, but the proper Ground and Matter of the Humane Body. In the Third Week, the Body in gross is formed, so that after some One and twenty Days the three most noble and useful Parts of the Body are fashion'd; the Liver, the Heart, and the Brain; and These lie at length, distant from one another, in a kind of oval or oblong Figure, and connected,

——* *Hunc divino semine fecit
Ille opifex rerum.* ——

† *Sic modo quæ fuerat rudis, & sine imagine tellus:
Induit ignotas hominum conversa figuras.*

or just tack'd together by some thin loose Joynings, which are afterwards fill'd up, and resemble the Form of an Ant; where you may observe Three grosser and fuller Parts, coupled and held together by Two slenderer, that lie betwixt. The Fourth Week, which raises the Account to very near Thirty Days, the whole Body is perfected, and the Parts and Organs of it distinguishable; and from thenceforth it ceases to be an *Embryo*, as that denotes a rude shapeless Mass; and is now in a Condition to receive the Soul; which accordingly loses no Time, but comes and takes Possession of its new Dwelling, at or before the Term of Forty Days; that is, at Five or Six Weeks. When this Proportion of Time is doubled, namely, after Three Months, the animated Infant usually begins to move; and much about the Fourth Month the Hair and Nails set forward. And after the same Term three times told; that is, after Nine Months, is the usual time of Maturity, and coming into the World. These may perhaps to some seem useless Curiosities, and not altogether becoming a Treatise of this Nature: But I must own, that I think one great Advance towards the true and the best Wisdom, would be to understand this Part of our selves; and sure Men could not but express a greater and more awful Regard of Almighty God, did they but consider *whose Hands have fashion'd and finish'd them*; who watch'd and brought forward their *Substances*, when crude and imperfect; wrote their *Members* in his Book; and made them to be what they are, after a fearful and very wonderful manner.

C H A P. II.

The first and general Distinction of Man.

I.
First into
Two Parts.

MAN, as if design'd to be all over Wonder, is a Creature made up of Ingredients vastly different, nay, directly opposite to one another: For what can be more so than those two *Constituent Parts*, His *Soul*, and His *Body*? Look upon him with regard to the former of these, and He is a sort of inferior Deity: Turn your Eyes down to the latter, and that Person which before you almost ador'd, you will now be tempted as much to loath and despise; For what is Man thus above a Beast? What but a Load of Corruption, and a Sink of Ill-Humours? And yet, this wonderful Disparity notwithstanding, these two so distant Parts are link'd together with such amazing Art, and embrace each other so close and kindly, that there is at the same time eternal Quarrels, and yet an inviolable Friendship between them. They cannot live together peaceably, and yet they cannot part contentedly: Like a Man that hath a Wolf by the Ears, and neither knows how to hold him, nor to let him go: So is each of these principal Parts in Man; and each may say to the other what the Poet did.

** My Help and Hindrance, Health and Sicknefs ; I
Cannot live with thee ; and without thee die.*

** Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te.*

But

But in regard one of these Parts admits of a Sub-
 division, by reason of a great and manifest Difference in the Faculties and Parts of this Soul of ours; the One Part Noble and Pure, Intellectual and Divine; the Other Mean, and Sensual, and Brutish: The best and most lively Representation of Man, and the surest Method of attaining to the Knowledge of him, seems to be the making of this First Division to consist of Three Branches; and saying, That the *Constituent Parts* of Man are the *Mind*, the *Soul*, and the *Flesh*. Of these the *Mind* and the *Flesh* are the two distant Extremes, distant as Heaven and Earth are from each other; and the *Soul* hath a middle Station between both, like the Region where all the Storms and Meteors are form'd. The *Mind* is the most Heroick and exalted Part; the Breath, the Beam, the Image, the Efflux of the Divinity. This in the Man is as the King in the Body Politick; its Tendencies and Motions are to Heaven and Happiness; and it breaths nothing but what is Pure, and Spiritual, and Divine. The *Flesh*, quite contrary, is like the Dregs of the People, a vile and stupid, rude and tumultuous Mob, the Sediment and Lees, the Brutish Part of Man; and this is perpetually dispos'd to Evil, and sunk into Matter. The *Soul*, in its middle State, like Persons of Quality in a Kingdom, below the Best, and above the Worst, is capable of inclining to Good or to Evil; and accordingly it is continually solicited on both sides with great Importunity: The *Mind* and the *Flesh* are ever struggling to win it over, and, according to the side it takes, it becomes either a Spiritual and Virtuous, or a Vicious and Carnal Soul. This is the Seat of all those Appetites and Passions implanted in us by Nature, which, consider'd simply, and in themselves, have neither Virtue nor Vice in them: Such, for Instance,

2.

Then into
Three.

stance, as Love, (that kind of it which we bear to our Friends and Relations) and Fear, such as that of Shame, Compassion for Persons in Distress, and Desire of a good Reputation.

3. This Distinction deserves the rather to be observ'd, because it will assist us very much in the Knowledge of our selves, and give Men a true Idea of their Actions, which are otherwise apt to be misunderstood, by passing Judgments upon a slight and superficial View, and attributing That to the Mind, which in reality proceeds from the Soul; nay, sometimes from the Flesh, and mistaking That for Virtue, which is meerly the Effect of Nature, nay, the Instigation of Vice: For it is no breach of Charity to say, That a great many noble and brave Actions have been done in Heat and Passion, or else out of Humour, and Fancy, and natural Inclination; not so much with a Design to benefit Others, as to please *Our Selves*.

C H A P. III.

Of the Humane Body, and its
Constituent Parts.

THE *Body* of Man is built and put together, so as to consist of Parts vastly numerous, both Within and Without : And of these, by far the greater number, are either round, or of a Figure not far distant from it.

1.

Those Within are of *Two* sorts : Some dispers'd all over the Body in large Quantities and great Numbers ; as for Instance, The *Bones*, which are the Bases and Pillars that support this Structure : The *Muscles*, which are the Instruments of Strength and Motion : The *Veins*, which are the Channels for conveying the Blood to the Heart ; and the *Arteries*, which, like so many Pipes, feed them perpetually, by sending it from the Heart to the several Parts of the Body. The *Nerves*, which are distributed by Pairs, and are the Instruments of Sense and Motion, by vertue of the Animal Spirits contain'd in, and diffus'd by them. Of These some are *soft*, which serve the Head, and assist our Sight, our Hearing, our Taste, and our Speech : Others are *hard*, and these are laid along the *Spina Dorſi*, and so inserted into the Muscles ; the *Tendons*, the *Ligaments*, and the *Cartilages*. There are likewise the Four Humours, the *Blood* ; *Choler*, which provokes and hinders Obstructions, throws off the Excrementitious Parts, and excites Cheerfulness : *Melancholy*, which whets the Appetite, and moderates sudden Motions : *Phlegm*, which sweetens the two Humours last mention'd, (Yellow and Black

2.

Black Choler) and checks inordinate Heats. The *Spirits*, which are a sort of generous Fumes, evaporated by the Natural Heat, and Radical Moisture; and of These there are Three Degrees of Excellency, the Natural, the Vital, and the Animal. The *Fat*, which is the thickest and oylest Part of the Blood.

3. Other Parts are single and determin'd to some particular Place. Now the whole Body may be conveniently enough divided into Four Stories or Apartments, which are in a manner so many several Shops or Workhouses, wherein Nature keeps her Powers and Faculties employ'd. The First and lowest of These, is that concern'd in the Propagation of the Species. The Second, and next above, is the *Entrails*, the *Bewels*, and *Stomach*, which in Situation inclines somewhat to the Left-Side; its Form is round, streighter below than above, with two Orifices, one at the Top, to receive Nourishment; another at the Bottom, answering to the Guts, whose Business 'tis to discharge and empty it. This Vessel receives, collects, mingles, and concocts the several sorts of Nourishment taken in at our Mouths; and from thence works off a whitish Juice call'd *Chyle*, proper for the Sustenance and Nutriment of the Body, and afterwards wrought over again more accurately in the *Meseraick Veins*, thro' which it passes into the Liver. The *Liver* is hot and moist, lying somewhat more to the Right-Side. This is the proper Work-house of the Blood, the great Source of the Veins, the Seat of the Vegetative Faculty. Here the *Chyle* drawn off from the *Meseraick Veins* is converted into Blood; which is taken into its Cavities by the *Vena Porta*, and discharg'd again by the *Vena Cava*, (which issues from the Convex Part,) and its Branches, in abundance of Ducts, like Rivulets or Streams from a Foun-

Fountain. In the Left-Side lies the *Spleen*, which receives the Discharge and Excrementitious Humours of the *Liver*. Then follow the *Reins* and the *Guts*, which hang all together in one Link, and, as according to the usual Proportion, the Stature of a Man is seven times as much as the length of a common Foot ; so the Bowels, when drawn out, are usually seven times the length of a Man. These Two former Apartments, which some contract into One, (tho' the Offices of them are so very different, as to justify the distinguishing them into Two) are, by many Authors, resembled to the lowest Region of the Universe ; the Elementary one, which is the Seat of Generation and Corruption ; and here that which goes by the Name of the *Concupiscible Soul*, keeps its peculiar Residence.

The Third Story is compar'd to the *Æthereal Region* ; and this is separated from the former by the *Diaphragme*, as it is from That still above it by the Throat : Here the *Irascible Soul* hath its Dwelling ; and Here those Parts in the Breast lie, which are termed the *Præcordia* ; as the *Heart*, whose Situation is much about the Fifth Rib, and its Point a little diverting towards the Left Pap. This is exceeding Hot ; the common Source of all the Arteries, by which it distributes the Vital Blood there concocted, thro' the whole Body, and in that Blood the Vital Spirits : And all this by a Discharge so sensible and strong, that each Evacuation creates that Motion which we call the *Pulse*. Here likewise are the *Lungs*, a soft, rare, and spongy Substance, supple and pliable in their Motions, like a Pair of Bellows ; and thus they become the Instruments of Respiration : By which the Heart is cool'd with fresh Air, the Blood kept in perpetual Agitation ; the Fumes and Excrements that oppress it are by this means discharg'd, and the Voice form'd

form'd by the Help of the *Aspera Arteria*, or Wind-Pipe.

5. The Fourth and last Apartment, which answers to that highest Region, by way of Eminence call'd *Heaven*, is the *Head*; and this contains the *Brain*, a Substance cold and spongy, cover'd over, and wrap'd up into two Membranes, One hard and thick, which touches the Skull, and is term'd the *Dura Mater*: The Other more gentle and thin, contiguous to the former, and known by the Name of *Pia Mater*. From the Brain are deriv'd all the Nerves, and that Marrow which runs all along thro' the Back-bone. This Brain is the Seat of the Reasonable Soul, the Source of Sense and Motion, and of all those Noble Spirits call'd the *Animal*, and extracted from the *Vital* Spirits, which, when sent up thro' the Arteries into the Brain, are concocted, refin'd, wrought off, and subtiliz'd, by means of an infinite number of small and exceeding fine Arteries, which, like so many little Threads plaited and interwoven with each other, make a sort of Labyrinth, or double Net, (the *Rete Mirabile*) in which the *Vital* Spirit being kept, by perpetual Motion, backward and forward, is exalted and refin'd, till it becomes *Animal*, that is, sublimated and spirituous to the last and highest Degree.

6. The outward Parts, and such as stand in View, are either single or double. If single, they are plac'd in the midst, as the *Nose*, which serves us in Breathing and Smelling, and conveys Comfort and Refreshment to the Brain; as it is also useful for the discharge of any Humours which happen to annoy the Head: And thro' this Passage the Air goes in and out, both for the Service of the Lungs below, and of the Brain above. The *Mouth*, which assists us in Speaking and Eating; and as the Uses of it are different, so are the Parts likewise

wise which qualify it for those Uses. Without, there are the *Lips* ; Within, you have the *Tongue*, extreamly nimble in Motion, and a nice Distinguisher of Tastes : The *Teeth*, to bruise and chew our Meat, and prepare it for the Stomach.

If the Parts of the *Head* be double and alike, they are plac'd collaterally, and answer exactly to each other : So do the *Eyes*, which, like Centinels or Spies, are posted at the top of the House, for the gaining a more advantageous Prospect : These are made up of wonderful Variety ; each hath Three Humours, Seven Coats, Seven Muscles, different Colours, and are form'd with infinite Artifice, and inexpressible Contrivance. They are indeed the noblest and most admirable Parts of any that appear outwardly in the Body : Their Beauty, their Usefulness, the Sprightliness of their Motion, their strange attractive Power in creating *Love*. These are to the Face what the Face is to the rest of the Body ; the Life and Air of the Countenance it self : And in regard they are exceeding tender, and nice, and valuable, therefore provident Nature hath cover'd and fenc'd them in very carefully on all sides, with Skins, and Lids, and Brows, and Hair. The *Ears* are near upon the same level with the Eyes ; These being a sort of Scouts to the Body, and Porters for the Mind ; They receive, report, and distinguish Sounds, which naturally ascend upward. The Approaches and Entries of this Organ of Sense, are intricate and crooked, full of Windings and Turnings, to prevent the Air from rushing in too quick, and with too great Violence, by which means the Hearing might be extreamly impair'd, the Organ wounded and strain'd, and the Sound more confus'd by its excessive Loudness.

To all these we must add the *Hands* and *Arms*, by which all manner of Workmanship is perform'd ;
and

and our *Legs* and *Feet*, which like Pillars support this wonderful Edifice, and which, altho' not of the Trunk and main part of the Body, are yet Instruments of such universal Use, that the Body can very hardly subsist without them ; and it wou'd be very ungrateful not to allow These an honourable Mention in this Account, whose Labours make Provision for the whole.

C H A P. IV.

I. **T**H E *Body* of Man hath several very particular and distinguishing Qualities, which are Excellencies peculiar to himself, and such as Beasts have no Share at all in. The first and most remarkable seem to be these that follow : *Speech*, an *Erect Stature*, that Form and Port which hath been in so high Esteem among Wise Men, nay, even with the *Stoicks*, the rigidest and most abstracted of all Philosophers, that they declar'd it more eligible to be a *Fool* in Humane Shape, than to be *Wise* in the Form of a Brute ; so preferring the Advantage of this Frame of Ours, before even *Wisdom* it self, and all the Beauties of the Soul without it : The *Hand*, which is a Prodigy in Nature, and no other Creature, not even the Ape it self, hath any thing comparable to it ; the natural *Nakedness* and *Smoothness* of our *Skin* ; *Laughing* and *Crying* ; the *Sense* of being *Tickled* ; the *Eye-Lash* upon the lower Lid of the *Eye* ; a visible *Navel* ; the *Point* of the *Heart* inclining toward the Left-Side ; the *Knee*, which is said to stand forward in no other Creature whatsoever ; the *Palpitation* of the *Heart* ; *Bleeding* at the *Nose*, which you will think very odd, when you recollect that Men carry their Head upright, and Beasts hang theirs down toward the Ground ; *Blush-*
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ing for *Shame*; *Looking Pale* for *Fear*; *Multiplying* at all times indifferently; not moving their *Ears*, which in other Animals is a Signification of their inward Passions: But These are sufficiently discover'd in Mankind by looking *Red* or *Pale*; and particular *Motions* of the *Eyes* and *Nose*.

Others, tho' they are not altogether his own, and incommunicable, yet may be styl'd Peculiar, in respect of the Degree and the Advantage he hath above others which partake of them: Such are the Number of his *Muscles*, and vast Quantity of *Hair* upon his Head; the Nimbleness and wonderful Variety of *Motions* in his *Limbs* and *Joints*; the great *Abundance* of the *Brain*; the *Largeness* of his *Bladder*; the *Form* of the *Foot*, so very long forward, and so short a *Heel* behind; the vast *Quantity*, the *Clearness* and the *Fineness* of the *Blood*; the *Easiness* and *Agility* of the *Tongue*; the *Multitude* and unspeakable *Variety* of his *Dreams*, so extreamly above all other Animals, that Man alone deserves the Name of a *Dreaming Creature*; the *Faculty* of *Sneezing*: And, to be short, the innumerable different *Motions* of his *Eyes*, and *Nose*, and *Lips*.

Some there are that have particular Countenances and Looks, Gestures and Motions, which Art and Affectation have accustom'd them to; and some others who have these from Nature: They are particular indeed, and so distinguish them from other Men; but yet they are so natural, that the Persons are not at all sensible of them when they do them; as *leaning the Head on one side*, *blowing the Nose*, and a hundred other such Gestures. But some again there are common to all Mankind, such as Reason and Contrivance hath nothing to do in, but they are the Effect of meer Natural Impulse; as for Instance, that of *putting our Hands before us when we are falling*; which

which all do without thinking ; and some do it we see at a time when they cannot think at all.

CHAP. V.

Of the Advantages of the Body, &c.

I.
Health pre-
ferr'd.

THE Excellencies of the Body are *Health, Beauty, Sprightliness, Agility, Vigour, Dexterity, Gracefulness in Motion and Behaviour* ; but *Health* is infinitely above all ; *Health* is the loveliest, the most desirable, the richest Present in the Power of Nature to make : It justly challenges Precedence above all Temporal Blessings and Advantages. Not only *Learning* and *Knowledge, Wealth* and *Greatness, and Noble Blood*, but even *Wisdom* it self, in the Judgment of the severest Philosophers, is inferior to it. This is the only Thing that deserves our utmost Endeavours, our greatest Hazards, the only one, which is worth the venturing our very Lives for the acquiring and Enjoyment of it : For indeed our very Lives without it are flat and insipid, nay, they are troublesom and painful ; and Virtue and Wisdom languish, and decay, and die, if this do not keep them in Beauty and Vigour, and Exercise. Suppose a Man of the greatest Abilities that ever Humane Nature had, or is capable of, what Advantage would all this be to him in a Fit of an *Appoplex*, or a *Fever*, or any other violent Distemper ? Certainly there can be but one Thing in the World more valuable, and that is *Probity* ; for *Probity* is to the *Soul*, what *Health* is to the *Body*. Now, tho' this be commonly the Gift of Nature, and the Effect of an originally good Constitution, a just

a just and proper Temperament of Humours, and fit Disposition of Parts and Vessels in the first Formation of the Body ; yet, no doubt, can be made, but the Nourishment and Methods afterwards contribute very much to it also. The wholesomeness of the Milk, and a good sound Nurse in the time of Infancy ; and a regular way of Living, when Men come to their own Conduct and Management ; Sobriety and Temperance of all kinds ; moderate Exercise ; Appetites well govern'd, and keeping one's self from Melancholy, and all violent Passion and Disorder of the Mind, do assist, preserve, confirm, and finish what Nature and Complexion at first begun. *Sickness* and *Pain* are its Opposites and Enemies, and these are the worst, perhaps indeed (when all things are rightly consider'd) the only Evils incident to Mankind : Concerning which more will be said hereafter. But both in Enjoying and Preserving this, the Brutes seem to have the better of us ; for Man often ruins himself, and pays dear for his Frolicks and Excesses.

The next Advantage to This in Order and Dignity, is *Beauty* ; which is a very great Recommendation, and of mighty Influence in Conversation and Society : This is the first thing that conciliates Mens Favour, and unites them to one another ; and it is highly probable, that this was the first and principal Mark of Distinction, the first Consideration, which gave Men any Preference and Authority over their Fellows. The Power and Efficacy of this Quality is indisputable ; every one sees and feels it ; no other Accomplishment gains more Esteem ; none is so general and so commanding in all the Affairs of Humane Life. None are so barbarous, none so stupid or so obstinate, as not to be smitten with it : It steps forward, and offers it self to publick View ; it bespeaks our Favour,

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vour, preposseſſes our Fancy, ſeduces and bribes our Judgment, makes ſtrong and deep Impreſſions, and is full of Importunity, full of Authority. *Socrates* underſtood its Power full well, when he called it, a *ſhort Tyranny* upon the Mind; and *Plato*, when he term'd it the *Privilege of Nature*. For a Man can hardly forbear thinking, that the Perſons, to whom Nature hath been ſo partial in her Favours, and ſignaliz'd with charming and uncommon Graces, have a ſort of lawful in-born Power over us, and were made to command. Theſe, when they draw our Eyes and Obſervation, do inſenſibly attract our Hearts too, and faſten our Affections upon them, and captivate and enſlave us, whether we will or no. *Ariſtotle* ſays, that Superiority and Government belongs to the Comely; that They command our Veneration next after the Gods, as being the liveliſt and faireſt Copies of thoſe Glorious Originals; and that all but the Blind muſt and ought to be affected with their Excellencies. The Three great Princes, *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, and *Cæſar*, found This of mighty Importance, and made the Gracefulneſs of their Perſons turn to good account in their weightieſt Affairs; and ſo did *Scipio* more than any of them. *Handſom* and *Good*, have a great Affinity, and both the * *Greek* Language, and the *Stile* of Holy Scriptures, ſeem to expreſs this, by uſing one and the ſame Word to ſignify both. Several great Philoſophers found their Beauty ſerviceable, in their Study, and Acquisition of Wiſdom; and to ſhew that this Recommendation is univerſal, it is not confined to Men only, but is valued, and of great Requeſt, even among Brutes.

* Καλός.

3.
Different
ſorts of it.

Now Beauty is of great Variety, and may be conſider'd in very different Reſpects. That which is proper to Men, conſiſts chiefly in a Majetiſtick Form and goodly Stature: The other ſorts of Beauty are of a ſofter and more effeminate kind; they may be

be rather called Prettineſſes, and theſe are more peculiar to the Female Sex. In each of Theſe, there is a Subdiviſion ; One, which is a fixed and laſting Beauty ; and this conſiſts in having the Parts well proportion'd, and the Colours juſtly mix'd : A Body not ſwell'd nor bloated, and yet not ſo thin and meager neither, that the Nerves ſhould ſhew themſelves, or the Bones ſtart out of the Skin ; but full of Blood, and Spirits, and well in Fleſh ; the Muſcles high and clear ; the Skin ſmooth and ſoft ; the Complexion freſh and ruddy. The Other is a moveable and inconstant Beauty, which may be term'd Gracefulneſs ; and this conſiſts in a good Air, and becoming Motions ; wherein all the Parts of the Body are concern'd, but the Eyes more ſo than any of the reſt. The former is as it were dead, when not attended with This, for all the Life and Action is in the latter. There are alſo ſome Beauties of a more maſculine, and rough, and fierce Air ; and others of a ſofter, ſweet, tender and languishing kind.

The Beauty and Excellence of the Body, is more peculiarly ſeated in the Face ; and our Measures of it are chiefly taken from thence. The lovelieſt Thing in the Perſon of a Man is his Soul ; and in the Body of a Man it is his Face ; For this is as it were the Abſtract, the Copy and Image of the Soul. It is a piece of Natural Heraldry, where all the Advantages and Coats of Pretence are diſtinctly Quarter'd and Blazon'd ; and This, like a Scutcheon, is plac'd upon the Front of the Houſe, that you may know whoſe Seat it is, and who, and of what Quality the Perſon is that owns and inhabits it. For the Face is an Abridgement of the whole Man ; and this ſeems to be the Reason, why Art, which always follows Nature, and treads in her Steps, troubles it ſelf little farther in Paintings and Carvings, than to give you an exact Representation of

4.
Of the Face.

the Face from the Life ; and leaves the rest of the Picture or Statue to the Artist's own Discretion.

5.
Some particular Properties of the Face.

Now there are several very great Niceties, particularly observable in Humane Faces ; such as may very truly be term'd Properties of the Face, since neither Brutes, nor any other Part of our own Bodies, can pretend to the like. And indeed, for want of These, Brutes can scarce be truly said to have any Face. *First*, The great Number and Variety of distinct Features, and the several Fashions of them. For those of Beasts consist of much fewer ; The Cheeks, the Chin, and the Forehead, are there all in one, and not distinguish'd like Ours ; nor have they the Figure of Ours at all. *Secondly*, The wonderful Diversity of Colours ; for in the Eye it self, there is a mixture of Black, and White, and Green, and Blue, and Red, and CrySTALLINE. *Thirdly*, The regular Symmetry of the Parts, whereby the Proportions answer to each other. And this is observable in the Organs of Sense, being double, and exactly corresponding ; and in the different Relations, which the rest bear mutually, in length and breadth. Thus the largeness of each Eye, measuring at the top of the Socket, gives you the Wideness of the Mouth ; the Breadth of the Forehead is the same with the Length of the Nose ; and that again is of the same Dimension with the Lips and the Chin below. *Fourthly*, The wonderful Diversity of Faces, so nice, so astonishing ; that among so many Millions of People, there are not two to be found exactly, and all through alike. This is such a Master-Piece, as all Nature cannot furnish such another Instance of. And this deserves a little more particular Attention ; because it shews the Goodness, as well as the Power and Wisdom of our Adorable Maker, upon the Account of the mighty Consequence and Benefit such Variety is of to Humane Society. *First*, In regard

regard it supplies us with Marks of Distinction, sufficient to know one another asunder by. For infinite and inconceivable Mischiefs must needs follow, no less indeed than utter disbanding and breaking off all Commerce and Communication, if Mens Faces were so like, as to make us liable perpetually to mistake one Person for another: A Daughter for a Wife, an Enemy for a Friend; and thus a second and worse *Babel* would follow. Were there no Resemblance at all indeed, then Men would not be distinguished from Brutes; but were there not some Unlikeliness too, then any one Man could not be discern'd from any other Man. And, which is yet more wonderful, Nature hath dealt these Differences so artificially, as to satisfy all Parties; and found out a Secret, that those who are most unlike should be highly contented themselves, and should please others also. For the Matter is so order'd, that there is no Person but is approved, and thought very well to pass, by some Body or other; and the Faces themselves do not disagree more than Peoples Fancies, and their Inclinations to several sorts of That which they call *Beauty*. A *Fifth* Quality peculiar to Humane Faces, is the Dignity and Honour of them, resulting from the oval Figure, the streight Position, the Elevation above the Body, their Direction upwards to Heaven, their naked Graces, without any Covering of Shag, or Hair, or Feathers, or Scales, as Beasts and Birds have. A *Sixth* is the Air of the Face, a pleasant agreeable Sweetness; so insinuating, so engaging, that (as was said before) Hearts are immediately caught, and our Wills and Affections violently born away with it. In a Word, The Face is the Throne of Beauty and of Love; Seat of Smiles, and of Kisses, two Things peculiar to Mankind; agreeable and innocent, when used as Nature intended them, for true and affectionate

Expressions of Civility and Friendship, and Kindness, and a good Understanding between Man and Man, and once a Ceremony used in the most Solemn Religious Assemblies. *Lastly*, This is adapted to all manner of Changes in the Temper ; it expresses all the inward Motions and Passions of the Soul. Joy and Grief, Love or Hatred, Envy and Malice, Shame and Anger, Indignation and Jealousy, and the rest of them, immediately betray themselves here. This is like the Hand to the Watch, which tells us the Hours and the Minutes, while all the Wheels and Springs, by which those Movements are made, lie within and out of Sight. And as the Air receives all Colours, and all Alterations of the Weather, and so lets us know what Changes are coming : So may it be said of the Countenance too. * *The Body* (says one) *both covers and discovers the Mind, and you may read the Man in his Face.*

6.
A Description of the
Beauty of a
Face.

The *Beauty* of a *Face* consists in a large, square, well-spread Forehead ; clear and unclouded ; even small and fine Eye-brows ; a well cut, brisk and sparkling Eye ; a straight well-proportion'd Nose ; a little Mouth, with red Lips ; high full Cheeks with a pleasant Dimple in Smiling ; a round compact Ear ; and all over These a lively Complexion of good wholesome White and Red. But yet this Description is not allowed Universally ; for several Nations and Climates have several Opinions of *Beauty*. The *Indians* particularly esteem That the most exquisite *Beauty*, which We look upon to be the greatest *Deformity* ; a Tawny Complexion, large thick Lips, a flat wide Nose, and Teeth stain'd with black or red ; long hanging Ears ; a low hairy Forehead ; vast pendulous Breasts, so large, that they may fling them over their Shoul-

* Corpus animum tegit & detegit : In facie legitur Homo.
ders,

ders, and give Suck to the Children at their Backs; and these are so much in Esteem, so desirable Qualities, that they use all possible Art and Industry, to bring themselves to this Shape. But what need we go to the *Indies*, when our very next Neighbours differ so much in their Notions of the Matter? For the *Spaniards* think none Beauties but the Lean and Slender; and the *Italians*, on the other hand, prefer the well-set, the strong, and the plump; and think there can be no such thing as *Handsomeness* without these Qualifications. And indeed in every Country some are for the soft, the weak, the tender, and the little Women; and others for the tall, the strong, the masculine, and bolder Beauties.

Now this outward *Gracefulness* of the *Body*, and more particularly that of the *Face*, ought in all reason to be an Indication and certain Evidence of the inward *Beauties* of the *Soul*. (And these consist in an Evenness of Temper, a Regularity of Opinions and Judgments, steadily maintain'd, and a Firmness and Constancy of Mind resulting from hence.) For surely nothing is more agreeable to Nature, than the mutual Relation and Conformity of the Body and the Mind. And where this Correspondence and Similitude does not appear, we are to conclude, that some Accident hath unfortunately interpos'd, and broken the ordinary Course of Nature; as it very often happens, and is very apparent that there does. For the Milk of a base Nurse, the First Advances in Education and Instruction, the Company they frequent, and sundry other Things, may leave a strong Tincture behind, work mighty Changes in the Natures and Humours of Men, and give them Dispositions quite different from those they were born with, either toward Virtue, or to Vice. *Socrates* acknowledg'd, that the Deformity of his Body testified against him for the Deformity of his Soul; and that the Evidence

7.
Beauty of
Body and
Mind.

it gave was true ; but that by Study and Pains added to a good Education, he had amended his Mind. The Air and Face of a Man is no good Rule, and very dangerous it is to depend upon it either way. But they who have an honest engaging Look, ought to suffer double Punishment, if they belye it in their Actions. For they betray and deceive People by their fair Promises, which Nature hath written in their Foreheads, and which they themselves make so ill a Use of, as to trapan and cheat the World with them.

It were well indeed, if we would follow *Socrates's* Advice upon this Occasion, as all of us ought to do, in becoming more nice and attentive in observing and considering curiously the Beauties of Mens Minds ; and in taking the same Satisfaction in beholding those Charms, as we do in gazing upon these of the Body ; and so to come up close to them, contract an Alliance and Friendship with them ; and unite our selves to them inseparably, by admiring, loving, imitating them with all imaginable Affection and Zeal. This were an Object worthy our Passion indeed. But alas ! all People are not qualified for it, none but Philosophical Eyes can behold and discover Those Graces, and none but pure and refin'd Souls can take Delight in the Love and Practice of them.

C H A P. VI.

Of Apparel for the Body.

MAny probable Reasons may be given that may induce us to believe the way of going Naked, which is still continued in a considerable Part of the World, to have been the Original, and once Universal Mode of all Mankind, how odd and singular soever it may seem to Us at this Day. The other of Cloathing seems the Effect of Art and Invention, contriv'd to abolish Nature upon Pretence of mending it ; as fantastical People shut out the Sun, and enlighten their Rooms at Mid-day with Tapers and Candles. And surely this is not so much the Dictate of Necessity as some would make us believe. For it is by no means to be imagin'd, that Nature, which hath been so liberal in all her Provisions for every other Creature, and particularly in Point of warm and convenient Covering, hath dealt so much worse by Man, than all the rest, as to leave him the only indigent Child she hath, and in such Need of Help from other Hands, that he must starve and perish presently, if he be not succour'd, and supply'd with it. This is one of the Reproaches which fanciful and melancholy People cast upon Nature, when they call her a hard and cruel Step-Mother to Mankind ; but that Charge against her is false and unjust. Upon the Supposition, that Men had from the Beginning been all accusom'd to Clothes, it is not easy to conceive how any Number of them should ever take up a Fancy of throwing them aside again, and going Naked ; both because a Regard
to

to their Health, which must needs have suffer'd extreamly by so disadvantageous an Exchange, and a Regard to Modesty and Shame too, must in all reason have perswaded the contrary. And yet we see, this is still the Fashion in several Nations, which is a great Presumption of its having once been the Fashion of all Mankind naturally. For what can be alledg'd for the contrary Opinion? Will you urge the Two common Reasons, that Clothes were always necessary to cover our Shame, and to defend us against the Cold? (I mention not the Heat, because it is not likely they were taken up for a Protection against That) These Arguments are plainly insufficient. Look back to the Primitive State of our First Ancestors, and you will find that Nature never taught them to be out of Countenance at their Nakedness. The Distinctions of this kind are of a later Date; and it was Guilt first, and then Custom, that introduced Shame. Besides, even those very Parts, which we take Pains to conceal, Nature hath been before-hand with us, in keeping out of Sight. But if we should allow this for one Reason of Cloathing, yet the Argument can only concern the Covering of these Parts. The Consequence of it cannot possibly extend to the rest; and thus we see in some Countries some Persons of better Condition, do consult their own and the Beholder's Modesty, without troubling themselves for any farther Garments; tho' the Common People in the same Places go stark naked. Some have thought it a Disparagement, that Man, who challenges a Precedence and Authority over all Things here below, should not dare to shew himself to the World, as God Almighty made him; but tho' that Thought be liable to some Exception, yet I think truly it cannot be for his Honour, to think himself enrich'd with the Spoils of his Subjects; to be proud of the Ornaments they furnish

furnish him with, and value himself, or disesteem others, according as he possesses, or they want these poor Advantages, (if they are fit to be call'd Advantages even in the last and lowest Degree.) And yet this is a Vanity so prevailing, that, as if Reason could not urge enough to make People ashamed of it, Religion had interpos'd her Authority too, to forbid Affectation and Pride in tricking and setting off our Persons, and teaches us, that we should never think our selves truly adorn'd, except when the virtuous and shining Qualities of the Mind render us agreeable and lovely in the Eyes of God and Man. These are the Jewels, these the Ornaments which wou'd most effectually repair that Shame which all our outward Dresses were so industriously contriv'd to cover.

As to that other Argument, which proceeds upon Cold, and some other Things that render Apparel necessary, either to particular Persons of a Constitution more feeble, or to all that dwell under one Climate, sharper than the rest; we know full well, that some go naked, and others drest, in the very same Latitude, and the very same Air; and there is never a one of us but exposes the tenderest Part about him to all Weathers continually: Which gave occasion to that Reply of a sturdy Beggar, who, when he was ask'd how he cou'd endure to go naked in the midst of Frost and Snow, made only this Answer, *That other People cou'd bear their Faces naked, and he was Face all over.* History tells us of several very great Persons who went constantly bare-headed, as *Masinissa*, and *Cæsar*, and *Hannibal*, and *Severus*: And some Nations there are, who being accusom'd to no Defence for their Bodies at other Times, never trouble themselves for any when they go into the Wars, but engage in the hottest Action, whole Armies of naked Men together. *Plato* thinks it adviseable for
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the Health never to cover either the Head or the Feet at all. *Varro* pretends, that when Men were commanded to stand bare in the Temple of the Gods, and in the Presence of the Magistrates ; it was not only the Respectfulness of the Ceremony, but the Wholsomness of it, that the Law had regard to ; since Men by this Means harden'd their Bodies against the Injuries of Wind and Weather, and strengthen'd themselves, while they paid a due Reverence to their Superiors.

In a Word, abstracting from what Revelation hath taught us, and looking at Nature only, I shou'd make no doubt but the Contrivances of Hutts and Houses, and other Shelters against the Violence of the Seasons, and the Assaults of Men, was a much more ancient Institution than that of Cloathing ; and there seems to have been more of Nature and universal Practice in it ; for we see that Beasts and Birds do the same thing. The Care and Provision of Victuals was unquestionably of far greater Antiquity than either of the former, for this seems to have been one of the first Impulses and Dictates of Nature ; the Necessities and Appetites whereof return so thick upon us, that it is not easy to suppose Man cou'd subsist at all without this Care. But of these Matters we shall have other Opportunities to treat more fully, when we come to give Rules for the Use and Regulation both of *Food* and *Raiment*, hereafter.

Book III.
In the Vir-
tue of Tem-
perance.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Soul in general.

WE are now entring upon a Subject of all others the most difficult and nice ; One which has been treated of, and particularly canvass'd by the greatest Philosophers, and most penetrating Wits of all Ages and Countries : *Aegyptian, Greek, Arabian, and Latin* Authors ; but yet so that their Opinions have been infinitely various, according to the several Nations from whence they sprung, the Religions they embrac'd, the Professions in which they had been educated, and the Reasons that offer'd themselves to their Thoughts : So that how far soever each Man might satisfy his own Mind, yet they have never been able to come to any general good Agreement or certain Determination in the Matter. Now the main Points in Controversy upon this occasion, are those *Ten* that follow : What may be the *Definition* of the Soul ; What its real *Essence* and *Nature* ; Its *Faculties* and *Actions* ; Whether there be *One* or *More* Souls in a Man ; Whence its *Original* ; What the *Time* and *Manner* of its entring the *Body* ; the *Manner* of its *Residence* ; the *Seat* where it dwells ; the *Sufficiency* to exercise the several *Functions* belonging to it ; and *lastly*, Its *End*, or *Separation* from the *Body*.

First of all : It is exceeding hard to give an accurate *Definition* of the Soul, or be able to say *Its Definition* exactly *What it is*. And this in truth is the Case *I.* of all Forms in general ; and we cannot well conceive how it shou'd be otherwise with Things which are Relative, and have no proper and independent Sub-

Subsistence of their own, but are only *Parts* of some *Whole*. Hence, without question, it hath come to pass, that the Definitions of it put abroad have been so many, and at the same time so infinitely various too, that not any one of them hath been receiv'd without Clashing or Contradiction. *Aristotle* hath rejected no less than Twelve among the Philosophers who had written before him; and yet he hath found but little better Success with That of his own, which he labour'd (but in vain) to establish in the room of them.

Nothing can indeed be more easy and obvious than to determine what the *Soul* is not. We dare be confident that it is not *Fire*, *Air*, nor *Water*, nor a *Mixture* and due Temperament of the Four Elements together, the Qualities or the Humours nicely adjusted: For This is a thing in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty; the Animal subsists and lives without it: And besides, This is manifestly an *Accident*, whereas the *Soul* is a *Substance*. To this we may add, that *Minerals*, and several *inanimate Creatures*, have a Temperament of the Four Elements, and prime Tactile Qualities, and still continue *Inanimate* notwithstanding. Nor can the *Soul* be the *Blood*; for several Instances may be given of Animated and Living Creatures, without any Blood at all belonging to them; and several Creatures die without losing one Drop of Blood. Nor is it the *Principle* and *First Cause* of Motion in us; for several *Inanimate Things* impart Motion: So does the Loadstone to the Iron; the Amber to the Straw; Medicines, and Drugs, and Roots of Trees, when dry'd, and cut to pieces, draw and create very strong Motions. Nor is it the *Act*, *Life*, *Energy*, or *Perfection*, (for *Aristotle's* Term *Entelechia* hath been interpreted in all these differing Senses) for all this cannot be the very *Essence* of the *Soul* itself, but only the *Operation* and *Effect* of it, as *Living*,
Seeing,

Seeing, and *Understanding* are plain and proper Actions of the *Soul*. Besides, admitting this Notion, it would follow from thence, that the *Soul* were not a *Substance*, but an *Accident* only, that it could not possibly subsist without that Body, whose Act and Perfection it is, any more than the Roof of a House can subsist as such, without the Building which it covers and is supported by, or a Relative without its Correlate. In a word, When we express our selves after this manner, we only declare what the *Soul* does, and what it is with respect to something else; but we pronounce nothing of its proper and abstracted Nature, or what it is in it self.

Now, tho' Things are thus far clear and easy, yet when we go farther the Case alters extreamly. A Man may say indeed that the *Soul* is an *Essential* *Life-giving* *Form*, which distributes this Gift as the Receiver is capable of it. To the Plant it imparts Vegetation; to the Brute Sense, which includes and contains Vegetation under it; and to Man Intellectual Life, in which both the former are imply'd, as the Greater Numbers comprehend the Less; and as in Figures, a Pentagon includes a Quadrangle, and That again a Triangle. I rather choose to term this the *Intellectual* *Life* than the *Rational*, (which is compriz'd and understood by it, as the Less is within the Greater) and that particularly in deference to those many renown'd Philosophers, who have allow'd *Reason* in some Sense, and some Degree, even to the Brutes; but not Any of them have ever gone so high, as to attribute the *Intelligent Faculty* to Them; and therefore I take *Intellectual* *Life* to be a more unexceptionable, more distinguishing Character of the Humane Soul than the other, which some have thought not entirely and peculiarly our own. The *Soul* in the mean while is not the Principle and Original of Life: (This, in my Judgment, is a
Term

Term due to none but the Sovereign Author of our Being, *the Lord and Giver of Life*) but it is the Internal Cause (if you please) of Life and Motion, of Sense and Understanding: It moves the Body, but is not moved it self; as on the contrary, the Body is moved, but moves not; I say, it moves the Body, but it moves not it self; for tho' Self-Motion be in some Sense a Character by which we express the Freedom of the Humane Will, yet, considering the depending State of a Creature, I rather forbear a Term, which, in its strict and most exalted Sense, cannot, in my Apprehension, belong to any but God himself: For whatsoever moves it self thus, must be Absolute and Eternal; and that Power of moving the Body which the Soul hath, it hath not from it self, but from Above.

2. The next Enquiry concerns the *Essence* or *Nature* of the Soul, (the Humane one I mean; for as to That of Brutes, little doubt is to be made but this is Corporeal and Material, conceiv'd, born, and bred with *Matter*, and corruptible with it too) and this is no such inconsiderable Dispute as some perhaps may imagine; for some have affirm'd it to be *Corporeal*; others again, contend as vehemently, that it is *Incorporeal*: Which Opinions we will beg the Reader's leave to compare a little, and how wide soever they may seem, we'll try if it be not possible to reconcile them. The Arguments which have persuaded Men to believe the Soul *Corporeal*, are such as follow. First, The Authority of the most Eminent Philosophers and Divines; and of the latter, no less than *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *St. Basil*, *Gregory*, *Augustine*, and *Damascene*, who all admit, That the Spirits, both Good and Bad, which are entirely separated from *Matter*, are yet *Corporeal*; and if They be so who have nothing to do with *Matter*, how much more probable is this Notion of

of the Humane Soul, which is in constant Dealings with, and closely united to it? The Ground of their determining these Things to be Corporeal, is a Notion, that All Creatures of what kind soever, when compar'd with God, are Gross, Corporeal, and Material; and that God Himself alone is so excellent a Substance as to be Incorporeal; and therefore every Spirit is Body, and of a Corporeal Nature. To this of *Authority* may be added another Argument drawn from *Reason*. All that is contain'd in this Finite World, must needs be Finite it self; limited in Virtue and in Essence; circumscrib'd by some Superficies, confin'd within some Place; all which are the true and natural Conditions of a bodily Substance. God alone is every where; He alone is Infinite, and therefore He alone is Incorporeal. The common Distinctions of a *Circumscriptive*, *Definitive*, *Effective* Presence, seem to be meerly verbal, and to carry very little or no Force at all; For still it is undeniably certain, That *Spirits* are in a Place after such a manner, that at the same time they are there, they are not elsewhere too, nor can be in more Places than one at once. They are not in Infinite Space, nor in extream Little, nor extreamly Large Room, but to take up so much as is proportionable to their Size, and equal to their Finite Substance. And, did not the Case stand thus with them, how cou'd Spirits change their Place and Residence? How cou'd they ascend or descend, which yet the Scripture frequently takes notice of their doing? For, if Incorporeal, they must be incapable of Motion, Indivisible, and so every where indifferently. Since then 'tis evident they change their Places, is not this sufficient to convince us that they are capable of *Motion* and *Division*, subject to *Time*, and the Successions of it, which is requisite for the adjusting of Motion,

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and measuring the Passages and mutual Distances from one Place to another? All which are Qualities belonging to a *Body*. But now, in regard that the generality of People, who see not to the bottom of these Distinctions, by the Word *Corporeal*, form to themselves an Idea of something Visible and Palpable, and so gross as must affect our Senses: Since they have no Notion of pure and subtil Air, nor entertain any Conception of Fire abstracted from Fuel and Flame; since, I say, they cannot persuade themselves that Things so subtiliz'd are *Corporeal*, hence it hath grown into Use, to say, That *Spirits* in a State of Separation, and Humane Souls in the Body, are not *Corporeal Substances*: Nor are they so indeed in this gross and vulgar Sense; for they are of an Invisible Substance, whether that be *Airy*, as many Philosophers and Divines have persuaded themselves; or whether *Cælestial*, and yet more refin'd, as some *Hebrew* and *Arabian* Authors, who call Heaven and Spirit both by the same Name, of an Essence proper to Immortality; or whether it consist of a Substance still more subtil and purify'd than even the *Æthereal* or *Cælestial* it self; but still *Corporeal* nevertheless, since subject to all those Conditions of a Body, of being confin'd and circumscrib'd within a certain Space; capable of Motion, and measurable in that Motion, by the successive Periods of Time. Again, were they not *Corporeal*, they must be impassible; for which way cou'd they suffer as we find they do? The *Soul* of *Man* manifestly receives, and is affected with, Satisfaction and Uneasiness, Pleasure and Pain; and as deeply as sensibly touch'd with these Things in her Turn, as the Body is from her Dictates and her Passions. Again, She is likewise wrought upon and distinguish'd by Good and Ill Qualities, Virtues and Vices, Affections and Inclinations of all sorts: All which are
Acci-

Accidents ; and as such require some Bodily Substance for their Support and Subsistence. Lastly, All *Souls*, whether separated or united, Evil Angels and Spirits, as well as Men, are obnoxious to Punishment and Torture : From whence it must follow that they are *Corporeal* ; For nothing can be in a Condition of enduring Torment, which is not so ; and so the Subject of Accidents is one particular Property of a Bodily Substance.

See Advertisement at the End of this Chapter ; and also That at the Conclusion of the Tenth.

Now the *Soul* abounds exceedingly in Faculties and Powers, as many almost as the *Body* hath Members. Some of these she exerts in Plants ; a greater number yet in Beasts ; but vastly more in Mankind : Such as the Vital, Locomotive, Appetitive, Attractive, Collective ; the Retentive, Concocting, Digestive, Nutritive ; those of Growing, Sprouting, Hearing, Seeing, Tasting, Smelling, Speaking, Respiration, Generation, Cogitation, Reasoning, Contemplating, Assenting, Dissenting, Remembring, Judging : All which Faculties are by no means Parts of the *Soul* ; for at that rate we must admit the *Soul* to be capable of *Division*, and made up of nothing but *Accidents* and *Properties* ; but they are the Natural Qualities and Powers of it. Upon these follow the Actions or Operations of the *Soul*, which must needs, in order of Nature, be after those Faculties that qualify it for the Performance of them. And thus the great *Dionysius*, whose Doctrine in this Particular is universally assented to, observes, That in Spiritual Creatures there are Three Things to be consider'd ; The *Essence*, the *Faculty*, and the *Operation*. By the last of these, which is the *Action*, we are led to the Knowledge of the *Faculty* ; and from the *Faculty* again we are carry'd on to the *Essence*. Now we

3.
Its Facul-
ties and
Operations.

must take notice by the way, that the Actions may be obstructed, suspended, or a final Stop, and absolute Cessation put to them, without any Prejudice at all being done by this means to the *Soul*, or its Faculties: As the Skill and Faculty of Painting shall remain entire in the Artist, tho' his Hands be ty'd up, or he be otherwise disabled from exerting that Skill. But, upon a Supposal that the *Faculties* themselves perish, the *Soul* must perish with them; as the Fire can be no longer Fire, if we suppose the Faculty of Warming to be taken away from it.

4. *Its Unity.* The *Nature* and *Essence* of the *Soul* being thus in some measure explain'd, there is another Enquiry which offers it self to our Consideration, and That indeed of very great Intricacy and Importance both, which is, Whether each Animal (but more especially each Man) have a *Complication* of *several Souls*, or but *One* only. Concerning which a multitude of Arguments have been offer'd on all Sides, and great Variety of Opinions have grown; but they may, I think, be reduc'd to Three. Some of the *Greek* Philosophers, and almost all the *Arabian*, after Their Examples, have fancy'd that there is but *One Immortal Soul*, not only in each distinct Individual Person, but in all Mankind, and distributed throughout the whole Species in general. The *Agyptians* are in the other Extream, and conceive that each Person hath *several Souls* totally and essentially distinct from one another. That every Brute hath *Two* of these, and every Man hath *Three*. *Two* of which (the Vegetative and Sensitive) are Mortal; and the *Third* (which is the Intellectual) Immortal. The Third Opinion lies between these *Two*, and as it is more moderate, so hath it likewise been more generally entertain'd than either of the former; for most Nations seem to be agreed, That however Men may have been oblig'd to
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consider the several Faculties distinctly, yet there is in reality no actual Plurality, and but *One Soul* in each Person, which extends to all those Operations assign'd to several.

The *First* of these Opinions I shall say nothing to, thinking it too absurd, and too generally exploded, to stand in need of any particular Confutation.

The *Second*, which asserts a *Plurality of Souls* in each Animal, and particularly in each Man, must be confess'd on the one hand exceeding marvellous, if not altogether incredible and absurd; For what Philosophy will allow us in giving several Essential Forms to one and the same Thing? But then, on the other hand, it must be acknowledg'd too, that this Notion makes the Way fair and smooth for that of the *Intellectual Soul's* being Immortal: Because upon a Supposition of *Three distinct Souls*, there is no great Difficulty or Inconvenience in admitting that *Two* of these may die, without at all impairing the Immortality of the *Third*: Whereas the *Unity* of the *Soul* seems to make War upon its Immortality: For which way can we conceive the same Thing to be Mortal in one Part, and Immortal in another? Which yet seems to have been *Aristotle's* Notion. Certainly there is an absolute Necessity of concluding, That it is All of a piece in this respect, and either entirely Mortal or Immortal throughout; which yet are each of them loaded with very absurd Consequences: For the former Conclusion is destructive of all Religion and sound Philosophy; and the Latter advances the Brutes to the same Dignity, the same Immortal State with our Selves. But the most general, and, in my poor Judgment, the most probable Opinion is, That each Animal hath but *One Soul*; but *One* in Substance; That This is the Cause of Life, and the Universal Source of

all the Actions perform'd by him ; That tho' it have but *One Essence* entire and undivided, yet is it adorn'd, enrich'd, diversify'd with a vast number of Faculties and distinct Powers wonderfully different, and some contrary to each other ; according to the vast Variety of Instruments made use of by it, the Vessels in which they are contain'd, and the Objects they are employ'd about : Thus the *Soul* exercises what we call the Sensitive and Reasonable Faculties more peculiarly in the *Brain* ; there being the Instruments adapted to such Operations : The Vital and Irascible in the *Heart* ; the Natural and Vegetative, (which are sometimes distinguish'd by the Concupiscible) in the *Liver* : These are the Chief and most Material Distinctions. But these so many and so different Operations, Instruments, and Faculties, no more impair the *Unity* of the *Soul*, or argue a *Plurality* of *Causes*, than a multitude of Streams conclude against one Fountain or common Source ; or the different Effects of the Sun-beams prove more Suns than One in the Universe : For thus we daily see he sheds his Rays, and shines upon different Places and Objects with very different Success : To One he administers *Heat*, to Another *Light* : The Wax he softens and melts ; the Clay he dries and stiffens : He makes the Snow whiter, and the Complexion blacker : He scatters the Clouds, and contracts the standing Pools. And if all this be done by One Sun in the Firmament, what shou'd hinder the Former to be effected by One *Soul* in the *Body* ? Why shou'd That be admitted for an Argument against the Essential Unity of the Cause in one of these Instances, which we our selves are content to allow, and constant Experience makes it plain beyond all Contradiction, is of no weight at all in a Case so very parallel as This I have last mention'd.

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As to the *other Difficulty*, which relates to the Soul's *Immortality*, when the Matter is carefully consider'd, it will appear, that this Opinion of the *Unity* of the *Hamane Soul*, does it no manner of Injury. For this Soul does not suffer in its proper *Essence*, by the Death of the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive Faculties* ; by which Death in reality is meant no more than an *Incapacity* of exercising and exerting those Powers in a State of Separation from the *Body*. Which must necessarily follow, upon the Want and Absence of the proper Subject and Instrument to exercise them upon. But all this hinders not, but that the *Third* and most exalted, which is the *Intellectual Faculty*, may still exert it self ; because a *Body*, tho' at present it be made use of as its Instrument is not yet so necessary and essential to that, that it should not be able to subsist and act without it. Supposing then this *Soul* to return to the *Body* a second time, it would return at the same time to the Exercise of its *Vegetative* and *Sensitive Powers*, as we see plainly by Instances of Persons who have been raised from the Dead, to live here below : But this would not infer a Necessity of the same Things for living in another State. For those Faculties, whose Exercise supports this Life we now lead, are not thereby proved of such Consequence, that no other kind of Life could be supported or enjoyed without them. It is in this Case with the *Soul*, as with the *Sun* (for the same Instance will be of use to illustrate our Argument in this Branch also) which continues the same in himself, every whit as entire and unblemish'd, not in any degree enfeebled, tho' his Lustre and Vital Influences be sometimes intercepted and obstructed. When his Face is cover'd with a *Total Eclipse*, we lose the chearful Light and cherishing Heat ; but tho' no sensible Effects of him appear, yet he is in his own Nature

the same Powerful Principle, and Glorious Creature still.

5. Having thus (as I hope sufficiently) evidenced *Its Origine* the *Unity of the Soul*, in each Individual animated by it ; let us in the next Place proceed to observe from whence it is *deriv'd*, and how it makes its *Entry* into the *Body*.

Concerning the Former of these Particulars, great Disputes have been maintain'd by Philosophers and Divines of all Ages. Concerning the *Origine* of the *Humane* and *Intellectual Soul*, I mean ; for as to the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive* attributed to Plants and Beasts, those, by general Consent, have been esteemed to consist entirely of *Matter*, to be transferred with the *Seminal Principles*, and accordingly subject to Corruption and Death. So that the whole Controversy turns upon the single Point of the *Humane Soul* ; and concerning this, the *Four* most Celebrated Opinions have been these which follow. I omit the Mention of any more, which are almost lost in the Crowd, because These have obtained so much more generally, and gain'd greater Credit than the rest.

The *First* of these is that Notion of the *Stoicks*, embraced by *Philo* the Jew, and after him, by the *Manichees*, *Priscillianists*, and others. This maintains Reasonable Souls to be so many Extracts, and genuine Productions of the Divine Spirit ; Partakers of the very same Nature and Substance with Almighty God himself ; who being said expressly to have breathed it into the Body ; these Persons have taken the Advantage of *Moses's* Words, and fixed the sublimest Sense imaginable upon them. *He breathed into him the Breath of Life* ; by which they are not content to understand that the *Soul* of Man is a distinct Thing, and of a different and more exalted Original than the Body ; a Spirit of greater Excellence than that which quickens any other Animal,

Animal, but they stretch it to a Communication of God's own Essence.

The *Second* was deriv'd from *Aristotle*, receiv'd by *Tertullian*, *Apollinaris*, the Sect of the *Luciferans*, and some other Christians; and This asserts the Soul to be deriv'd from our Parents, as the Body is; and in the same Manner, and from the same Principles with that, whence the Souls of Brutes, and all that are confin'd to Sense and Vegetation only, are generally believ'd to spring.

The *Third* is that of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*; entertain'd by most of the Rabbinical Philosophers and Jewish Doctors; and after them by *Origen*, and some other Christian Doctors too; Which pretends that all Souls were created by God at the Beginning of the World; that they were then by Him commanded, and made out of nothing; that they are reserv'd and deposited in some of the Heavenly Regions; and afterwards, as his Infinite Wisdom sees occasion, sent down hither into Bodies ready fitted for, and dispos'd to entertain them. Upon this Opinion was built another, of Souls being *well* or *ill* dealt with here below, and lodged in sound and healthful, or else in feeble and sickly Bodies, according to their *Good* or *Ill* Behaviour in a State and Region above, antecedent to their being thus incorporated with these Mortal and Fleshly Tabernacles. How generally this Notion prevail'd, we have a notable Hint from that great Master of *Wisdom*, who gives this Account of his large Improvements, above the common rate *Wisdom of Men, I was a witty Child, and had a good Spirit; VIII. 19, yea, rather being good, I came into a Body undefiled. 20.* Thus intimating a Priority of Time, as well as of Order and Dignity in the Soul, and that its good Dispositions qualified it for a Body so disposed too.

The *Fourth*, which hath met with the most general Approbation, among Christians especially, holds That the *Soul* is created by God, infus'd into a Body prepared duly for its Reception: That it hath no Pre-existence in any separate State, or former Vehicle, but that its Creation and Infusion are both of the same Date.

These *Four* Opinions, are all of them Affirmative. There is yet a *Fifth*, more modest and reserv'd than any of the former. This undertakes not to determine Positively one way or other; but is content Ingenuously to confess its own Ignorance and Uncertainty; declares this a Matter of very abstruse Speculation, a dark and deep Mystery, which God hath not thought fit particularly to reveal; and which Man by the Strength and Penetration of his own Reason, can know but very little or nothing of. Of this Opinion we find St. *Augustine*, St. *Gregory* of *Nice*, and some others. But tho' they presume not so far, as to give any definitive Sentence, on any Side; yet they plainly incline to think, that, of the *Four* Opinions here mention'd, the *Two* latter carry a greater Appearance of Truth, than the *Two* former.

6.
The Entrance into
the Body.

But how, and when this *Humane Soul* (for of the *Brutal* there is little or no Dispute, nor is the present Enquiry concern'd in it) Whether This, I say, make its Entrance all at once, or whether the Approaches are gradual and slow; Whether it attain its just Essential Perfections in an Instant; or whether it grow up to them, by Time and Succession; is another very great Question. The more general Opinion, which seems to have come from *Aristotle*, is, That the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive Soul*, whose Essence is no other than Matter and Body, is in the Principles of Generation; that it descends lineally, and is derived to us from the Substance of our Parents; that This is finished and per-

perfected in Time and by Degrees, and Nature acts in this Case a little like Art, when That undertakes to form the Image of a Man; where first the Out-Lines and rude Sketches are drawn; then the Features specify'd; yet These, not of his whole Body at once, but first the Painter finishes the Head, then the Neck, after that the Breast, the Legs, and so on, till he have drawn the whole Length. Thus the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive Soul* (they tell you) forms the Body in the Womb: And when That is finish'd, and made fit for the Reception of its new Inhabitant, the *Intellectual Soul* comes from abroad, and takes Possession of its Dwelling. But that (all this notwithstanding) They are not *Two* nor *Three distinct Souls* neither together, nor in Succession. That the Vegetative suffers no Diminution by the Accession of the Sensitive; nor that again by the Addition of the Intelligent Mind. But all Those coalesce into One, and are form'd and finished, according to the stated Times, and usual Process of Nature.

Others rather incline to believe, that the Soul enters the Body entire, and takes Possession with her Faculties of every kind at the same Instant: That This is done, when all the Organs of the Body are framed, and the whole Shell finished and compacted: That till Then, the Body is only a senseless dead Mass, without any Soul at all: That it had only a Virtue or Natural Energy, (The Essential Form of that Matter out of which it is made) and this acting upon the Spirituous Parts, does, by the Agitation and Ferment These are put into, form and build the whole Body, and adjust every Part of this Structure duly. When Things are brought to this Head, then that Energy vanishes, and is quite lost, and the Soul succeeds into its Place. And when this New, this Noble Guest arrives, all Things change their Form; and That

That, which before was nothing but dead senseless *Matter*, exalts its Name and Nature, and from thenceforth commences *Man*.

7.
Its Resi-
dence, and
the manner
of it.

When it hath actually entred the Body, we shall do well to know after what Manner it exists, and dwells in it. Some Philosophers, whose Notions of this Matter seem to have been much perplex'd, and at a mighty Loss, how to make out any tolerable Conjunction between these Two, have imagin'd the Soul to reside in the Body, like a Master in his House, or the Pilot in a Ship. But tho', as to the Governing and Directing Part, the Comparison be not much amiss; yet when apply'd to explain the particular Mode of its Existence, it is absolutely improper, and stark naught. For at this rate the Soul would not be the *Form*, the *Internal* or *Essential* Part of the Animal or the Man: It would have no Occasion for the Members of this Body to give it Reception; would not be affected in any kind from this close Affinity, nor have any of those tender and mutual Resentments and Sufferings, arising from Bodily Pains and Pleasures; but would be a Substance entirely distinct; subsisting from and by it self; at its own Disposal to go or come, to separate from the Body, without making any Difference in it; or any way taking from its own Functions, or the Exercise of them. All which are intolerable and most notorious Absurdities. The Soul then in the Body, is like *Form* in *Matter*, dispersed and extended over every Part of it; giving Life, Motion, and Sense, all thorough: And both These taken together make one Person or *Hypostasis*; that is, one entire Subject, which we call an *Animal*. Nor are we to be solicitous for the finding out any intermediate Quality, which should connect these Two; for there is no such Thing in Nature. All Philosophers consenting in This, That there can nothing come between *Matter* and

and *Form*, no common Link or Band more intimate for them. The Soul then is *all* in *all* the Body ; but as for what is commonly added, of its being *all* in *every* Part too, I forbear the Expression ; because, in my Apprehension, it divides the Soul, and implies a Contradiction.

Now, altho' the Soul (in Agreement to what we have but just now asserted) be really communicated and diffused thro' the whole Body in *general* ; yet it must be acknowledg'd, that she is more *eminently* present and powerful, in some Parts than others. Where, for the Sake of a clearer and more visible Exercise of her respective Faculties, she may be said to keep her Residence, or have her Seat ; tho' not to be entirely there ; because This would import *Confinement* ; and the other Parts, upon the Account of her Absence, would be left void of all Soul and Form. In regard therefore that the Soul is remarkable for the Exercise of Four Predominant Faculties above the rest ; Four Principal Places of Action and Residence have accordingly been assign'd to her. Now these are the *Four* distinct Apartments or Work-houses, taken Notice of formerly, when we had occasion to treat of the Fabrick and Contexture of the *Humane Body*. These are the most Important and Prime Instruments of the Soul ; the rest are subordinate too, and reducible under them, as the other Faculties are likewise to those exercised in these Parts : Namely, the Continuation of the Species in the *lowest Region* : The Natural or Nutritive Faculty in the *Liver* : The Vital in the *Heart* ; and the Animal and Intellectual in the *Brain*.

The next Advance to be made upon this Subject, concerns the Exercise of these Faculties in general, and how the Soul is qualified for this Purpose. Now we shall do well to take Notice that the very *Nature* and *Form* of every Living Creature, consisting

8.

The Seat of the Soul.

9.

Its Sufficiency.

ing in This Soul, it cannot be, but the Soul must be abundantly provided with necessary *Knowledge*, and understand its Business, without Pains or Industry, or the slow and laborious Methods of acquir'd Instruction. As certain it is too, that what she is thus instructed in by Nature, she fails not to exert, and punctually to fulfil, as Need requires ; provided no accidental Obstruction prevent or interrupt her, and that the Instrument she is obliged to make use of, be rightly disposed to follow her Directions. The Philosophers therefore were much in the right, when they stil'd Nature a Wise, Skilful, and Industrious School-Mistress : One that qualifies her Children and Scholars for all that is required from them. * *The Seeds of all Art and Virtue* (says one of them) *are implanted in us originally ; and Almighty God, the Great Master, brings forward our Natural Abilities, and draws them forth into Action.* It were easy to prove this by pregnant Instances of every kind. The *Vegetative Soul*, of its own accord, without Artifice or Institution, forms the *Embryo* in the Womb, so curiously, so conveniently, so wonderfully, that we can never sufficiently express and extol the Excellence of this Skill. Afterwards it takes equal Care of the Nourishment and Growth ; conveys, seeks, and receives Sustenance ; retains what is eaten ; digests and lives upon it ; throws off the superfluous and excremental Parts ; refreshes, recruits, repairs those Parts which sink or faint, or fall to decay. And These are all of them Operations manifest and constant, not in Men only, but in Brutes and Plants also.

The *Sensitive Soul*, in like manner, of her own accord, puts Men and Brutes upon all necessary Actions. Such as Moving their Feet, their Hands,

* *Insita sunt nobis omnium artium ac virtutum Semina. Magisterque ex occulto Deus producit Ingenia.*

and other Limbs and Parts, which may be of use to them, to scratch, to rub, to shake themselves, to suck, to menage their Lips and Mouth, to cry, to laugh, and other Expressions of Want, and Grief, and Pleasure.

The *Reasonable* and *Intellectual* Soul does the very same thing in Its Capacity: And thus it acts not by vertue of any Reminiscence, or Recollection of any Knowledge it had before with this Union with the Body, as *Plato* fondly imagin'd; a Notion which proceeds upon the Supposal of another State, in which the Soul pre-existed before its Entrance into, or the Formation of this Body; nor does it owe this Power to Knowledge receiv'd in at the Senses, and acquir'd by Their Means upon Use and Observation, as *Aristotle* conceives, who represents the Soul at the Birth, to be a perfect *Blank*, utterly void of all Characters or Images, but ready to receive Impressions of any kind: But it seems rather to discharge this Office by the Original Strength of its own Native Powers: It Imagines, Understands, Retains, Argues, Reasons, Concludes of it self, without any Instruction or additional Helps at all. This Assertion, I must own, seems more difficult to comprehend than the Former; and we can more readily assent to such a Native Aptitude in the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive*, than we do in the *Intellectual* Soul. It is manifest too, that *Aristotle's* Authority lies in some degree against the Thing: And therefore to satisfy all these Difficulties, I will allow this Matter a more particular Consideration, when we come to discourse of the *Intellectual* Soul distinctly.

There remains yet one Point more concerning the Soul, to be enquir'd into, which relates to its Separation from the Body: Now This may happen different ways, and be of fundry kinds. The only usual and natural Separation is by Death.

10.

Its Separation.
Twofold.
Natural.

Only

Only herein is a mighty difference between other Animals and Mankind, that when the Rest die, their Souls die too ; agreeably to that Rule in Philosophy, *That when the Subject-Matter is corrupted, the Form is perfectly lost, tho' the Matter still remain*. Whereas the Soul of Man is indeed separated from his Body by Death, but by no means lost or annihilated : So far from perishing, that it remains entire and unhurt, as having the Privilege of an Immortal and Incorruptible Nature.

There is not in the World any one Opinion which hath been more universally entertain'd, more eagerly embrac'd, more plausibly defended, more religiously stuck to (I may well say Religiously, since this Doctrine is in truth the very Foundation of all Religion) than That which asserts the *Immortality of the Soul*. All this now is meant of an External and Publick Profession ; for, alas ! it is but too manifest and too melancholly a Truth ; (and the prodigious Numbers of dissolute Epicures, abandon'd Libertines, and prophane Scoffers at God and a Future State, bear Testimony to it ; That what Pretence soever the Generality of the World may make of receiving this Doctrine in Words and Speculation, there are but very few who express an inward Sense, and serious Belief of it, by living like Men that believe it indeed. Of that practical Assent, I shall take occasion to speak more largely hereafter. In the mean while, give me leave to lament, that so little and so poor Effects appear, of an Opinion capable of producing so many and so noble : For certainly, there is not any one Point whatsoever, the Persuasion whereof can bring greater Benefit, or have a stronger Influence upon Mankind. It may be objected, I confess, that all the Arguments which Humane Discourse, and meer Natural Reason endeavour to establish it by, cannot amount to a Demonstration,

stration. But it must be confess'd, that there are several other Things, which Men are content to yield their Credit to, upon far more weak and insufficient Suggestions. And whereinfoever *Reason* falls short, it is abundantly supply'd by *Revelation*; which, as it is the best, so it is the proper Evidence in Matters of this kind. But yet to shew the Importance of this Doctrine, even Nature herself hath implanted in all Mankind a strong Inclination to think it true: For it is natural for us to desire the lengthening out, nay, the perpetuating our own Existence. And no Reflection is more uneasy, than That which attempts to persuade us that we must *once cease to be*. This Disposition is interwoven with our very Frame; and hath given Birth to another no less general than it self, which is That anxious Care, and impatient Regard for Posterity, that takes such fast hold on every Man of us.

Nor wou'd I be so far misunderstood, as to have it thought, that this Disposition of Mind is the only Humane Foundation upon which our Belief of the *Soul's Immortality* stands: For there are *Two* other Moral Arguments in particular, which give it great Credit, and, to say the very least of the Case, render it exceeding probable.

The *First* is, That Hope of Glory and Reputation, and the tender Care of preserving a Good Name when we are gone; nay, the Thought and Endeavour that our Fame shou'd be Immortal. Now tho' I cannot but condemn this Sollicitude of Vanity, when Men pretend to place their *Happiness* in the *Opinions* of other People after themselves are dead; yet the marvellous Regard, and universal Concern Mankind express for it, seems to say, that Nature inspires those Desires and Expectations. And Nature, we know, is a *Wise*
F
Agent,

Agent, and does not use to cheat Men with Hopes, which are altogether impossible and vain.

Another Reason not easy to be got over by them who oppose this Doctrine, is, That common Impression that Those Crimes which are committed in secret, or which otherwise escape the Observation and Punishment of Civil Justice, and the Vengeance of Man, are still reserv'd to a farther Reckoning; that Almighty God supplies the Defects of Temporal Judicatures, and hath a severe Judgment in store for such Offenders as Those cannot extend to. And since we find by frequent Instances, that many Enormities of this kind are not made the Marks of the Divine Vengeance in the Present World; it is a good Consequence of all the Idea's we can reasonably entertain of God, that He should pursue the Guilty Wretches into Another World, and chastise them as they deserve, even after Death. And now I would be glad to know, what greater Moral Assurance can be expected for a Subject of this kind, than, that Humane Nature disposes every Man to look forward to it, to desire, and to think it probable; and that the Consideration of the Divine Justice, represents it as a thing not only greatly probable, but absolutely necessary.

This last Reflection will lead us to the Discovery of Three different Kinds and Degrees of Souls; all which become proper Objects of the Divine Justice: Nor need we credit it upon that Account only, but even Natural Reason, the Order and Harmony of the Universe will persuade us, that such a sort of Being, and so Immortal as we have been describing the Humane Soul, is requisite to make the Series of the Creation beautiful and compleat. Of these Three sorts we may observe that Two are in Extremes: The One consisting of
such

such Souls as are gross, sunk down, immerst in, inseparable from, and compounded of *meer Matter*: Such are the Souls of *Brutes*. The Other quite contrary, such as have no manner of Communication with *Matter* and Body, as *Angels*, and *Immortal Spirits*, whether Good or Bad. In the midst, and between these Two, is the *Humane Soul*; and this is neither entirely and necessarily confin'd and fasten'd to *Matter*, nor intirely separated from it, but joyn'd and wedded to it in this present State; yet so, that its Divorce is not its Destruction, but it can subsist and live without *Matter* in Another State.

Such an Order and Distinction as This, is no despicable Argument for the *Immortality of the Soul*, since otherwise we must suppose a wide Gap, a vast Defect, and foul Deformity in Nature, such as carries Absurdity in it self, casts a Reflection upon its Author, and threatens Ruin to the World. Which is supported by nothing more than by the Gradual and Contiguous Order and Succession of the Creatures: And therefore between Distances so wide as altogether *Corruptible*, and absolutely *Incorruptible*, Nature requires some middle Condition of a Substance, partly the One, and partly the Other. Such a Link as this is necessary to tie the two Ends of this Chain together; and such a Link can be no other Creature than *Man*: For if we carry our Thoughts farther, we shall find that Other Beings are without the Compass of this Length, and so there are *Five Stages* of *Beings* in all. One below the meanest, and even those Souls which are said to consist entirely of *Matter*, such as Stones, which we cannot say have any Soul at all. Another far above even the most exalted, the most pure and immortal Souls; which is the *Ever-Blessed* and *Eternal Spirit*, the *Great* and *Only God*.

2.

*Separation
Unnatural.*

But besides the Separation of the Soul already treated of, there is Another unnatural and uncommon one ; and this happens by Fits and Starts, is out of the Way, and consequently very intricate, and hard to give our selves any tolerable Account of : Such, I mean, as comes upon Men in Extasies and Raptures, which, as they differ very much in their Symptoms and Circumstances, so do they likewise in their Causes and Occasions. Of these some are *Divine Extasies*, wrought by the exprefs and immediate Operation of God : Such are those Trances, which the Scripture takes Notice of in *Abraham, Daniel, Ezechiel, Zacharias, St. Peter, and St. Paul.* Others are *Dæmoniackal*, procur'd by the Interposition of Good or Evil Spirits, many whereof are mention'd in Story : And we are told of *John Duns-Scotus* in particular, that having lain a long time in a Trance, and being taken for dead, he was carry'd to be bury'd, and put into his Grave ; but being rouz'd with the Blows and Bruises of the Mould thrown upon him, he came to himself, and was taken up again ; and in a few Days after dy'd in good earnest, with the loss of Blood, and the Bruises he had received upon his Head. *Cardan* mentions somewhat of this Nature, with which both Himself and his Father were possess'd. And many Creditable Authentick Relations have been made from several distant Parts of the World, of abundance of People, most of them of the Vulgar sort, too weak and ignorant to contrive such Stories ; and of Women possess'd, whose Bodies have not only continu'd long without any Sense, or Motion, or Pulse, but have been cut, bruised, burnt, without ever feeling it, and afterwards when they came to themselves, they have complain'd of intolerable Torture and exquisite Pain, and have given very strange Accounts of what they have seen and done in Places a great way off.

A

A *Third* Separation there is, which we may call *Humane*, because proceeding from Humane Means, and such as no Superior or Invisible Power seems to be concern'd in : This comes either from that Disease which from *Hippocrates* is call'd *Morbus Sacer*, but commonly known by the Name of the *Falling-Sickness*, (attended with Foamings at the Mouth, which are look'd upon as the Mark and Character of it, and distinguish this Distemper from Possessions, in which the Patients are said to have none of these Frothings, but a very noisom Stench in the room of them :) Or this Separation may be owing to the Force of Stupifying and Sleeping Medicines : Or to the Strength of Imagination, which being vehemently intent upon some One Thing, perfectly carries away the Soul, and renders it stupid and insensible to all other Objects besides.

Now in these Three kinds of Extasy and Transport, whether *Divine*, *Dæmoniacal*, or *Humane*, the great Doubt arising is, Whether the *Soul* be really and truly separated from the *Body* ; or whether, without any such Separation, it still continue there, but be so entirely taken up with some External Object, as perfectly to forget the Body belonging to it : So that its Natural Operations, and the Exercise of its proper Offices and Vocation are, during that Time, suspended, and wholly superseded.

As to *Divine Extasies* ; The Apostle speaking of Himself, and what happen'd in his own Case, will not presume to define any thing : * *Whether in* 2 Cor. 11. *the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell, (says he) God knoweth.* And this Caution of His, is, methinks, a good Warning to all other People, that They too should be modest and reserv'd, and not rash in determining any thing positively, not only in These, but even in less Abstractions of the Mind.

As to the Second Case, That of *Dæmoniacks*, Their having no Sense of great Blows, and exquisite Tortures, and reporting Things tranſacted at Two or Three hundred Leagues diſtance ; theſe, I confeſs, are great Conjectures, and very violent Preſumptions of an actual Separation ; but yet, I think, they are not concluſive and neceſſary Arguments for it : For the Devils may amuſe the Soul, and keep it ſo fully employ'd even when at Home, that it ſhall have no Commerce or Communication with the Body for ſome conſiderable Time ; and at the very ſame Time too he may repreſent to the Imagination what paſſes at a great diſtance, in ſo lively and clear a manner, as to fool the Man with a Perſuaſion, that he hath really been there, and ſeen thoſe very Things which the Images thus ſtrongly imprinted upon his Fancy, have enabled him ſo particularly to relate. How far the Activity of Evil or Good Spirits extends, is not poſſible for us to ſay. But it is a very bold Aſſertion, and what Nature will very hardly endure, That the Whole Soul, formally taken, goes out, and abandons the Body ; for upon theſe Terms the Body muſt die to all Intents and Purpoſes : And ſuch Mens coming to themſelves again, wou'd not be a *Recovery* of their Senſes, but a *Reſurrection* from the Dead. And yet to ſay, That the Soul does not All go, but the Imaginative and Intellectual Faculties rove abroad, while the Vegetative ſtay behind and keep Houſe, is ſtill more monſtrous and abſurd : For at this rate, the Soul, which is entire, and One in her Eſſence, wou'd be divided ; or elſe we muſt ſuppoſe the Accident only to be tranſported and born away, and the Subſtance to remain fixed in its proper Place ; and therefore we have reaſon to admit any other Solution of the Caſe, rather than that of an Actual Separation.

As

As to the Third and Last sort, which was term'd *Humane*, the Thing is clear beyond a Doubt, that there is no real Separation in it, since all that can be pretended to in this Case, amounts to no more than some present Stupefaction and Disorder, by means whereof such of the Soul's Operations as are Visible and External, cease in Appearance, and are suspended for some time.

What becomes of this *Soul*, and in what State or Condition she continues after that Real and Natural Separation made by *Death*, Wise Men have not been able to agree; nor does this Point fall properly within the Compass and Design of the present Treatise. The *Transmigration* of Souls, advanced by *Pythagoras*, hath found (in some Parts of the Notion especially) tolerable good Acceptance with the *Stoicks*, the *Academicks*, the *Aegyptian* Philosophers, and some Others. Not that they all admitted it in the same Sense and Extent, or to all the Purposes he intended it shou'd serve: Some allowed it only so far as it might contribute to the Punishment of Wicked Men, who might suffer by being turn'd into Brutes, in a manner like that miraculous Infliction upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, as a Dan. iv. Scourge from God for his Vanity and Atheistical Pride. Some again, and those of considerable Eminence and Authority, have imagin'd, that Pure and Pious Souls, upon their quitting this Body, are translated into Angels; and the Black and Guilty ones transform'd in Fiends and Devils. Methinks it were more prudent to soften the former Branch of this Notion, as our Blessed Saviour hath done already, by saying, *That they neither marry nor* Luke xx. *die any more, but are as the Angels, and are the Children of God.* Some again have fancy'd, That the Souls of the wickedest and most profligate Wretches, after a very long Term of Time and Punishment, utterly perish, and are reduc'd to their First Nothing.

Nothing. But Humane Reason is, and must needs be for ever, in the Dark about all such Matters. And therefore these Disquisitions shou'd be constantly referr'd to their proper Topick of Instruction: For, as nothing but *Revelation* and *Religion* can inform us truly in what concerns a Future State, so they have not been wanting to declare what is full and sufficient for our Purpose, and therefore it is our *Duty*, as well as our *Wisdom*, to receive this without more ado, and stedfastly to rest in it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Second Particular, which concerns the Essence and Nature of the Soul, the Author makes a very odd Distinction between *Matter* and *Body*, and tries to reconcile the Opinion of Those who say the *Soul* is *Immaterial*, with Theirs who affirm it to be *Corporeal*. The Result of which is, That the Souls of Men do not consist of gross and palpable Matter, but of a Body thin and subtle, even beyond all Imagination: And therefore, in the Sequel of this Discourse, he continues to make a Difference between the Souls of Men and those of Brutes, even in this very Point of Materiality it self.

But now, since *Body* and *Matter*, strictly and Philosophically taken, come all to one; and since no Subtlety, or Fineness of Composition, makes any Body the less a Material Substance; since again the Humane and Intellectual Soul hath evidently several Faculties, and performs several Operations, (such as *Cogitation*, *Volition*, nay, even *Sensation* it self) which are neither inherent Qualities of Matter, as such; nor what any Motion or Modification whatsoever, can render it capable of; *Monsieur Charron's* Subtlety of the Body will not help the Cause

Cause at all : For *Æthereal* or *Cælestial Bodies* are as truly *Matter* as any of the Courtest and Grofseft whatsoever. And the Notion of *Matter* is not to be taken from its Purity or Fæculency, its Palpability or its Fineness ; but from its Essential Properties, such as Extension, Quantity, and Divisibility, being purely Passive, and Acting only as it is acted upon ; Its being subject to the Laws of Motion ; and the like : These now are the inseparable Properties of every thing that is *Body* ; and from hence it must needs follow, that all Bodies whatsoever are equally distant from , equally unqualify'd for Thought, and Perception, and all other Operations and Faculties, which are the proper and distinguishing Characters of a Reasonable Soul. Concerning which, if my Reader desire farther Satisfaction than the Nature of a single *Advertisement* allows me room for, I refer him to Dr. Bently's Second Sermon against Atheism, where he will find this Argument handled at large.

When once such an Absurdity as This hath been shewn to attend that Notion which maintains the Soul's Corporeity ; it is to very little Purpose to urge us with the Difficulties concerning the mutual Intercourse of our Souls and Bodies ; or what the Soul suffers either in her United or in her Separate State : Some of which are capable of the same Resolutions with those given in the Case of Brutes, (by those Philosophers who allow them Sense :) and are not the Actions or Affections of the Intelligent, but of the Sensitive Powers : And for Others, which are superior to Humane Discourse, we acknowledge our Ignorance, and resolve all into the sole *Will*, and wonderful *Wisdom* of our Almighty Creator. He hath not told us what is the Band of Union between these Two ; nor how this Communication and intimate Correspondence is kept up, and carry'd on : And we think

think it is impossible for any to acquaint us with this Process, except Him only, who contrived and constituted it. But Ten thousand such Objections weigh little, when balanc'd against a Flaw in the very Foundation: Every thing at this rate may be disputed, and *Universal Scepticism* be advanced, for we are able to trace nothing thro' all its Motions and Operations. But an Argument *ab Absurdo*, made evident in the First and most substantial Principles, is allowed, even in that Science, which professes the greatest Accuracy in Arguing, to be a Just and Legitimate Demonstration against any thing, which such Principles are alledg'd to establish.

See more concerning the Immateriality of the Soul, and her Operations, in the Advertisement at the End of the Tenth Chapter.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Soul in Particular; and First, of the Vegetative Faculty.

HAVING thus given a General Description of the Soul, in the Ten Points already insisted on, I come in the next Place to treat of it somewhat more distinctly; by considering its respective Principal *Faculties* a-part. And the most convenient Order, as I apprehend, will be to begin with the Lowest first, and so proceed from the *Vegetative* to the *Sensitive*, from thence to that of *Imagination* and *Appetite*, and last of all to the *Intellectual*, which is the Supreme of all the Faculties, and that which is the true and peculiar Character of the Humane Soul.

Soul. Under each of These there are several subordinate Powers, of less Note and Figure, which hold, as Branches of, or Deputies under those, and will fall in naturally to be mentioned, in the Prosecution of that Method I have here proposed.

As for That which concerns *Vegetation*, it is the meanest by much, and given us in common with the very Plants. I shall therefore say but very little of it, not only because the Subject is not of Dignity enough to bear me out in long Enlargements; but also because this is more properly the Business of Physicians, whose Profession leads to the Study of Health and Sickness, the Preservatives of the One, and the Remedies against the Other. I shall only call upon my Reader at present to observe, That under this Faculty, there are Three Great and very Important Subalterns concerned, and each of them subsequent and assisting to each other in a regular Progression. For the First promotes the Second, and the Second the Third: but not so, as that the Order can be inverted, and the Remark hold back again.

The First of these is the *Nutritive*; instituted for the Preservation of the Individual; and under This there are several Assistants, such as the Attractive or seeking of necessary Sustenance; that of Concoction and Digestion, which separates the good and useful Parts from those which are noxious and naughty: The Retentive, for what is necessary; and the Expulsive, to throw off what is offensive or superfluous.

The Second is that of *Growing*, which tends to the Perfection of the Individual, and giving it all its just Proportions.

The Third is the *Generative*; for the Continuance and Succession of the Species.

From

From hence now it is plain, that the Two former of these were instituted by Nature, for the Sake and Benefit of the Individual : and terminate in the Advantage of one single Person, and his own Body. The Third extends to the Species in general, and its Effects do not, cannot center in the Person himself ; and therefore This, as more Extensive and Beneficial, is esteem'd superior in Dignity to the other Two ; and advancing nearer to That Faculty next above it, which is the Sensitive. For, Producing ones own Likeness, is a very Eminent Perfection in Nature, and gives us the Honour of some distant Resemblances, even to the Great Creator himself.

CH A P. IX.

Of the Sensitive Faculty.

THE Exercise of this Faculty, or the Operations of Sense, require the Concurrence of no less than Six several Things ; *Four* within, and *Two* without the Body. And they are these which follow.

I. The *First* is the *Soul* : This is the Prime Efficient Cause of Perception.

II. The *Second* is the Faculty of *Sensation*, (which I distinguish here from the Former, having already proved, that it is only a Quality of the Soul, and not the very Essence or Soul it self.) This consists in the Perception and Apprehending of External Objects : Which may be done Five several Ways ; for which reason we are commonly said to have Five Senses. Concerning that Number I shall say something in the next Chapter ; in the mean

mean while my Reader need scarce be told that these *Senses* are call'd, *Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Tasting, and Feeling.*

III. The *Third* Thing necessary is the *Bodily Instrument, or Organ of Sense*; and these are proportionably *Five* too: The *Eye* for *Sight*; The *Ear* for *Hearing*; The *Cavity* at the *Top* of the *Nose* (which goes into the first *Ventricle* of the *Brain*) for *Smelling*; The *Tongue* for *Tasting*; and the *Skin* all over the *Body*, for that of the *Touch* or *Feeling*.

IV. The *Fourth* requisite, is that *Animal Spirit*, derived from the *Brain*, (which is the *Origine* and *Seat* of the *Sensitive Soul*) and convey'd thro' the *Nerves*, to these several *Organs*: by the *Motion* and *Mediation* of which *Spirit* and *Organ*, the *Soul* exercises her *Faculty*.

V. The *Fifth* is, what the *Philosophers* were used to call the *Species Sensibilis*, which is, in plain *English*, the *Object* which moves and affects, or is propounded to the *Organ*: And This is of a different kind, according to the different *Sense* excited, or apply'd to by it. That of *Sight*, or the *Eye* (according to the commonly received *Opinion*,) is *Colour*; a *Quality* or *Accident* inherent in the *Body* colour'd. Six of these are stil'd *Simple Colours*, as *White, Yellow, Red, Purple, Green, and Blue*: To which some add *Black*, and call them *Seven*. But, strictly speaking, *Black* is not any *Colour*, but only a *Privation* of *Light*, resembling *Darkness*; as other *Colours* do more or less resemble *Light*: The *Number* of *Compounded Colours* is *infinite*. And, indeed, if we go to the *Philosophical Nicety* of the *Thing*, there is no *Colour* at all in any *Body*, whatsoever; for This is nothing else in *Truth* but the various *Representation* which *Light* differently modified makes upon our *Senses*. For when the *Light* is gone, all *Colour* is gone with it, and

as

as this never appears without some Colour, so it never disappears, so as to leave Colour behind.

Now *Light* is a Quality proceeding from a Luminous Body, which creates in us a Perception and Sight of it self, and of all Things else within our View. When this terminares upon, and is stopp'd by any solid Body, it rebounds back again, and doubles its Rays by Reflection: But if it penetrate the Body, and find farther Passage, it cannot be seen except only in its first Source, the Luminous Body from whence it was shed originally; nor does it then do us any Service in shewing other Objects.

The Object of *Hearing* is Sound; by which we are to understand that Noise which results from the mutual Collision of Two Bodies; and this is very various: For some Sounds are sweet and melodious, they sooth and charm the Soul, calm the Passions, compose the Humours of the Body, and chase away the Disorders of the whole Man. Others again are smart and piercing, strike thro' the very Soul, wound and disturb our Faculties with an ungrateful Harshness. But of all our Senses, the Mind seems to be most under the Power of This; none entertains it with greater Variety; none takes more absolute Possession of it.

The Object of *Taste* is what we call Savour or Relishes; of which the Simple are *Sweet, Bitter, Sour, Sharp, Salt, Acid*: But of the Compounds there is no Number; they are made so exquisite, and multiplied so industriously.

That of *Smelling* is Flavour; which is a sort of Vapour arising from the Odoriferous Object, and ascending thro' the Nose into the first and most prominent Ventricles of the Brain. Such Perfumes as are very strong, commit a sort of Violence upon the Brain, and are prejudicial or offensive to it: But those that are agreeable and moderate, minister

fter wonderful Comfort and Refreshment, and both delight and do good to the Head.

The Objects of *Feeling* are such as usually are term'd the Tactile Qualities, *Hot, Cold, Moist, Dry*; to which we may add *Soft and Sharp, Rough and Smooth, Motion and Rest, Tickling, &c.*

VI. The Last Thing which must concur in Sensation, is the *Medium*, or Space betwixt the Object and the Organ; and this, to render the Operation what it ought to be, is the *Air*, not in any wise changed or corrupted, but free, and in its Natural Purity and Disposition.

From hence we may gather, That the Act of Sensation is perform'd, when the Object, or *Sensible Species* presents it self by the Help of a *Medium* dispos'd to convey this Representation to the proper Organ fitted to receive it; and that the Animal Spirits lodg'd there do accordingly take the Impression, and apprehend the Thing: So that here is *Action* and *Passion* both; and the Senses are not purely *Passive*; for, notwithstanding that they receive an Impression, and in that respect are acted upon, yet do they likewise act, in some Degree, themselves, so far as they perceive the Image, and apprehend the Object propounded to them.

See the Advertisement at the End of the next Chapter.

The old Philosophy before *Aristotle's* Time, made a very remarkable Difference between the *Sight* and the rest of the Senses: Supposing This to be meerly *Active*, and imagining, that, whereas the Others receiv'd the Object and Impression from without, and so cou'd only be *Passive*; The Eye quite contrary, shot out its Rays of Light from within, and made an Impression upon the Visible Object. But ever since *Aristotle*, this Account of Vision hath been better stated, and all the Senses

Senses are allow'd to be equally *Passive*, equally wrought upon from without: All the Arguments of the Ancients to the contrary being very easily answer'd and set aside.

4. But now, besides these Five particular Senses, the Organs whereof appear outwardly, there is Another, which is call'd the *Common Sensory* within. Here it is that the several Objects of every sort, perceiv'd by the Corporeal Organs, make their *Rendezvous*: Hither they are brought to be examin'd, compar'd, sort'd out, and distinguish'd afunder: For were there no such Office of Enquiry, all wou'd end in Confusion. This discerning Power is above the Capacity of any particular Organ of Sense; for each of these is intent upon his own Business, and whatever his Fellows do, is out of his Sphere; he knows nothing at all of the Matter; nor can he be a competent Judge in it.

CHAP. X.

Of the Senses, which are the most Exalted and Noble Parts of the Body.

I. **T**HE ordinary way of being conducted to the Knowledge of Things, is, by the Assistance and Ministry of our *Senses*; so say the Schools, but it is not universally true. These are our first Instructors: All our Learning begins with them, and is at last resolv'd into them: We can go no farther back than they lead us, or give occasion for us to build Consequences upon. Each of These is supreme within its own Territories; and a large Dominion each of them possesses: An infinite Number

I.
Of what
Consequence
they are to
us.
See Chap.
xv. II.

ber of Reflections and Notions arise from each ; nor does any One of them hold under, depend upon, or stand in need of the rest : Thus the Power of them all is equally absolute, though some of them have a wider Range, and more Business, and a longer Train of Consequences and Instructions, than some others. Nor are we to wonder at This, since the Case is the same in other Instances : For a Petty Prince is as independent, as truly Sovereign within his own small Territories, as the greatest Monarch upon Earth in Kingdoms of the largest Extent.

It is a Maxim universally receiv'd, *That there* 2.
are but Five Senses in Nature ; and that which in- *Their Number.*
 clines all the World to think so, is, because we
 can observe no more in our selves : But possibly
 there may be more, and some question may be
 made of it ; nay, indeed, some probable Reasons
 may be offer'd, that there are more. But, suppo-
 sing that there are, it is certainly not in our Power
 to know it ; nor can we possibly assert or deny
 the Thing positively ; For there is no way to disco-
 ver the Want or Defect of a *Sense* we never had.
 Several Brutes enjoy all the Advantages of Life that
 are necessary to them, notwithstanding they do
 not enjoy all the Methods of Sensation, which
 Nature hath given to Mankind ; and I see no Rea-
 son, why an Animal may not subsist without any
 of the *Five Senses*, that of *Touch* only excepted,
 which alone wou'd supply the bare Necessities of
 Life. It is plain we live very conveniently with
Five ; and yet perhaps there may be *One*, or *Two*,
 or *Three* more in Nature, which we in no degree
 partake of. But, as I said, this is more than we
 do or can know ; for each Sense is confin'd within
 its own Division, and can make no Discoveries,
 nor hath any Jurisdiction out of its own Compass.
 A Man blind from his Birth can never be brought

See Note.

to any Idea of Sight ; nor can he (strictly speaking) either desire it, or be concerned for the Want of it. 'Tis true, he will tell you perhaps, that he wishes to *See*, but this is spoke by rote, and according as he hears other People express themselves ; for indeed he wishes he knows not what : And all it comes to at last is, That he wou'd be glad to have somewhat which he is told the rest of the World have, and himself hath not. The reason of all This is, Because the *Senses* are the *Doors* at which all our Knowledge makes its first Entrance ; and that which did not begin, and is not let in that way, cannot come in at all. Thus a Man is not capable of forming to himself a Conception of more Senses than those Five which himself hath, and consequently cannot persuade himself, that there are, or can be more in Nature ; but it does not follow from hence that there can be no more, because he hath no Notion of any more. Who knows whether the many Difficulties which still remain unaccounted for in many of the Works of Nature, and the Operations of Animals, that escape the nicest Enquiry, and subtlest Penetration of Humane Wit, may not be charged upon the Want of some Sense, which we are not provided with to discern them ? What the World usually expresses by the Title of *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, and *Occult Qualities*, may have some Sensitive Faculties in Nature, accommodated to perceive, and make a competent Judgment of them ; and perhaps our Ignorance of them is owing to our being deficient in this Point. Who can tell, whether it be not some particular *Sixth Sense*, which informs the Cock, when it is Midnight, and the first Dawning of the Day, and, by some secret Impulse, puts him constantly upon Crowing at those Times ? The same may be said of that Direction, by which some Brutes are led

led to such Herbs, as are proper for their Recovery, when sick or surfeited; and of many other such Things as these, which are notorious Matters of Fact, but the Reasons of them perfectly unknown. This is a Case in which we are utterly in the dark; and no Man can be positively assur'd on either side of the Question.

Some indeed have undertaken to give a Reason for this particular Number of *Five Senses*, and to ^{3.} *Whether* prove that These are sufficient, by comparing and ^{enough of} distinguishing them, and the Uses they serve. All ^{them.} *Bodies* (say they) without us, which are Objects of our Senses, are either very near and close to Our Body, or they are at some distance from it: If they be close to us, and still remain without us, then they fall under our *Touch*: If they approach, and come into us, then they are the Objects of our *Taste*: If they are more remote, and stand before us, so that their Distances are measur'd by a Right Line, then the *Sight* discerns them: If the Line be Oblique, and the Motion Reflex, then the *Hearing* does it. Now, methinks, the Distinction were better thus: Of the *Five Senses* accommodated for the Service of the whole Man, as he is compounded of Body and Soul, some are appropriated to the Use of the Body only; and These are the *Touch* and the *Taste*; the One for all that enters within, the Other for that which continues still without it. Some again are first and chiefly design'd for the Benefit of the Soul, and those are *Sight* and *Hearing*; the Former to assist Invention; the Latter for Improvement and Instruction, and all manner of Communication. And One more in the midst of these Extremes, fitted to those Spirits and Avenues that belong to Soul and Body both, which is *Smelling*. Again, They answer to the *Four Elements*, and their respective Qualities; The *Touch* to the

G 2

Earth;

Earth ; *Hearing* to the *Air* ; *Taste* to *Water* and *Moisture* ; *Smelling* to *Fire* ; and *Sight* to a Compound of *Water* and *Fire*, because of the Brightness of the *Eye*. It is likewise pretended, that there are as many Senses as there are General Divisions of sensible Objects ; and these are Colours, Sounds, Scents, Relishes, and a Fifth sort, which wants a Name to express it, adapted to the *Touch*, and comprehending all the Tactile Qualities, as Hot, Cold, Hard, Soft, Rough, Smooth, Sharp, and the rest of them. But This is evidently a Mistake ; for the Number of the Senses is by no means adjusted, according to the Number of the Objects they are capable of. Nor are these Objects the Cause of their being just so many, and no more. Were this a good Account, it wou'd follow, that we must have been endu'd with a great many more than we now have ; whereas now one and the same Sense entertains Objects of different Kinds ; and one and the same Object creates a Perception, and impresses it self upon several Senses at once. The most probable Account of this Matter seems rather to be, That the Senses were intended for Means and Instruments of conveying Knowledge to us ; and that Nature, which, as she is not niggardly, so neither is she profuse, hath given us as many Senses as are sufficient for this purpose ; and that when she had supply'd us with enough for our Use, she did not think fit to give us any more.

4.
A Comparison of them.

Of These the Sense of *Seeing* does surpass all the rest in the Quickness of its Operation ; For it reaches the very Heavens in an Instant, and acts in the Air, which is full of Light and Images, without any Trouble or Motion ; whereas all the rest of the Senses receive their Impression by the Motion of those Bodies which make it. And all Motion requires Time to be perform'd in ; so that all the other Senses must needs proceed more slowly

slowly than This, which need but open its Organ, and is sure to find Light and Colours stand always ready to be discern'd by it. All the Senses are likewise capable of Pleasure and Pain; but This is observable of the Two grossest of them, That the *Touch* is capable of abundance of *Pain*, and but very little *Pleasure*; and the *Taste*, just contrary, feels a great deal of *Pleasure*, and little or no *Pain*.

The *Weakness* and *Uncertainty* of our Senses is the great Cause of our Ignorance and Error, and all sort of Misapprehension: For, since Knowledge is attain'd by the Mediation of the Senses only, if these make a false Report, what can we do but receive and stick to it? But after all, who can tell what Reports they make, or how can any Man accuse them of Falshood, since we learn all from Them, and, consequently, even That which gives us this Jealousy, and is the Ground of the Accusation. Some indeed affirm, That the Senses are faithful in all their Messages, and represent the very Truth; That, when we imagine they deceive us, the Fault is not in Them, but in something else; and that we ought rather to lay it at any other Door; for no other Thing is so free from, so incapable of imposing upon us. Some again run into the contrary Extreme, cry out upon the Senses as downright infamous Liars, and tell you, That nothing at all of Certainty can be had from them. * But the Truth lies between these Extremes.

5.
The Weakness and Uncertainty of them.

* See Advertisement.

Now, Whether the Senses themselves are deceiv'd or not, thus much at least is evident, That they put a Cheat, nay, sometimes a Constraint, upon Reason; and that, by an unhappy Vicissitude, Reason pays them back in their own Coin, and returns the Cheat upon Them. And is not Man, think you, like to be wonderful Wise and Knowing, when the outward and the inward Instruments

6.
The mutual Deceits of the Mind and the Senses.

ments of Instruction are eternally tricking one another, and his whole Composition is full of Falshood and Weakness in the most necessary and essential Parts of it? Now, that the Senses deceive, and commit a Violence upon the Understanding, we see plain enough in those Instances, where Some of them immediately put us in a Rage, Others sweeten and appease the Soul, and Others again tickle and please it exceedingly. And why should Men turn their Heads away, when they are let Blood, or lanced, or suffer Incisions and Burnings, but from their Consciousness of the Power their Senses have to *disturb* their Reason; and that the same Thing is better born, when the Eyes do not observe the Operation? The Looking down a Pit, or a vast Precipice, disorders and confounds a Man, tho' he knows at the same time, that he stands safe himself, and cannot reasonably apprehend any danger of falling into it? And, to instance in no more, 'tis evident, that Sense of Pain and Pleasure both, does every Day vanquish, and utterly confound the best and bravest Resolutions of Virtue, and Temperance, and Patience.

Again, It is no less evident, that the Senses on the other hand, are cheated by the *Understanding*. This is demonstrated by those Agitations of Anger, and Love, and Hatred, and other Passions, which impose upon us, and make us see and hear Things quite otherwise than they really are. Nay, sometimes our Senses are not only deceived, but perfectly stupify'd, and bound up from all Power of Action, by violent Disorders of the Soul, as if the Soul retir'd inwards, and were entirely taken up there; For thus it often happens when our Mind is very intent upon somewhat else, the Eye never sees, nor takes the least Notice of those Objects that stand directly before it, and present themselves to our View. And Reason and Sense judge very
diffe-

differently of the Magnitude of the Sun and Stars, and of the Shape of a Stick in the Water.

Other Living Creatures have a Share in this Gift of Nature as well as We, and sometimes are more liberally dealt with in it: For some are quicker of Hearing than Men; Others have a stronger and clearer Sight; Others a nicer Smell; and Others a more distinguishing Taste. The general Opinion is, That a *Stag* excels all other Creatures in *Hearing*, an *Eagle* in *Seeing*, a *Dog* in *Smelling*, an *Ape* in *Tasting*, and a *Tortoise* in *Feeling*. But yet the Pre-eminence in this last hath been allow'd to *Man*; which is not much for our Credit, since This, of all the Senses, is reckon'd the grossest and most brutal. In the mean while, this Reflexion upon what hath gone before, may not be unreasonable; That if the Senses are the Means and Instruments of Knowledge, and Brutes have Senses too, nay, frequently more acute and penetrating than Ours, there may a fair Argument be drawn from hence, for Their partaking in Knowledge with us, as well as they partake of the Helps and Means that convey it to us.

But tho' the Senses be the *Instruments of Knowledge*, yet are they not the *only* Instruments; much less are our own Senses alone to be consulted or depended upon in the Case: For if it happens that Brutes have from Their Senses a Report different from that which Ours make, and the Judgment given upon that Evidence do consequently disagree with the Notions we form to our selves, (as in sundry Instances 'tis plain it does happen) which of these two Testimonies shall we believe? Our *Fasting-Spittle cleanses and heals our own Wounds*, and yet it *kills a Serpent*: Now from Two so different Effects, what Conclusion can be made concerning the true Nature of Humane Spittle? Shall we say that it is of a Drying and a Cleansing,

7.

These Senses are common to Men and Brutes.

8.

It is hard to trust our Senses.

or of a Poysonous and Killing Quality ? To make any certain Determination of the Operations of Sense, we shou'd do well, methinks, to agree with the Brutes, who have the same Faculties as well as We. But the least that can possibly be requir'd in order to it, is, That we shou'd be consistent with our own selves, and that the same Judge, and the same Evidence shou'd always concur in the same Sentence. And yet even This we are not come to : Shut your Eye, and put your Finger upon part of the Lid, and this Eye so press'd sees Things after another manner, than it does in the Natural and Common Posture. Stop your Ear, and the Sound is vastly different from what it is in the ordinary Impression : These Differences every Man, when he will, may make for himself. But some there are which Nature hath made to our Hand : A Child Tastes, and Hears, and Sees much otherwise than a Grown Man ; and a Man in his full Strength differs no less from an Old Man ; One in perfect Health, from a Sick Person ; a Wise Man from a Fool. Now where the Diversity and Distance is so great, nay, where there is even a Contrariety of Perceptions, where shall we fix, or what can we depend upon for Truth ? Even one Sense contradicts and gives the Lie to another ; for a Piece of *Painting* which seems Raised, and in *Relief* (as they term it) to the Eye, when we come to feel it with the Hand, is perfectly flat and smooth.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN order to giving the Reader a right Notion of the Matter treated of in this Chapter, I shall beg leave to detain him a little, with the Consideration of these *Three Particulars*.

First, What dependence may be had upon the *Evidence of Sense*.

Secondly, Whence those *Mistakes* do really proceed, which we find sometimes charg'd upon the *Deceivableness of our Senses*.

Thirdly, Whether All our Knowledge depends upon our *Senses*, so as that we can know nothing but by Their means.

I. *As to the Evidence of Sense*; This is what all Mankind, who have ever allow'd any thing of Knowledge or Certainty at all, constantly look'd upon, as the surest and most irrefragable in all those Cases, which are the proper Objects of it: And therefore He that went about to evacuate or weaken this, was esteem'd a Man not fit to be disputed with: Because one must needs despair of producing any better and more convincing Proofs, and so he must continue in incurable Ignorance, unless we cou'd suppose so absurd a Process in arguing, as that a Man shou'd be persuaded of a thing more manifest, by a *Medium* which is less so. It were an Affront to Humane Nature, to endeavour the establishing this by Arguments, since none ever disclaim'd the Truth of it, but They who wou'd not allow us to be sure that any Thing was true; and consequently, cou'd no more depend upon their own Objections against it, than they cou'd upon the Thing they brought them against. Therefore *Lucretius* hath very deservedly expos'd the Folly of such perverse Scepticks, in his *Fourth Book*.

Denique

Denique nil sciri siquis putat, &c.

*He that says Nothing can be known, o'erthrows
His own Opinion ; for He Nothing knows ;
So knows not That. What need of long dispute ?
Those Maxims kill Themselves, Themselves confute :
But grant This might be known, and grant He knew ;
Yet since he hath discover'd nothing true,
What Mark, and what Criterion then can show,
Or tell, what 'tis to know, or not to know ?
Or how cou'd He what's Truth, what's Falshood
learn ?*

*How what was Doubt, what Certainty discern ?
From Sense all Truth and Certainty inferr,
In vain some strive to prove that Sense can err ;
For that which wou'd convince, which wou'd oppose
The Senses, must be surer far than those.*

So that upon these Terms, it is evident all Knowledge must be given up, because if our Senses be false, we can have no stronger Conviction than what arises from Them, that any thing is true ; nor that there is such a thing as *Truth* or *Falshood* in the World. But besides, if it were proper to argue in such a Case, any reasonable Person wou'd find no difficulty in the Belief of this Matter ; For if he only allow the *Being of a God*, and considers the mighty Consequence of our Senses to us in all our Affairs whatsoever ; it can never enter into one's Head, that a Being of such Perfections wou'd leave his Creatures in perpetual Ignorance and Uncertainty, and give them such Organs and Instruments, as shou'd only deceive and confound them : For God indeed is the true Efficient Cause of all our Sensations, and the Foundation of our Certainty ; and his Goodness and Truth are our Pledges, that we are not mistaken

staken, and always in the wrong, in the due Use of those Faculties he hath given us to distinguish Things by.

Again: If we observe the Manner how these Operations are perform'd, that it is by External Impressions, by which the Object strikes upon the proper Organ, and that Impression is continu'd till it be carry'd on to that, which is called the *Common Sensory*, or the inward Seat of Sense; All this must depend upon the same necessary Laws of *Matter* and *Motion*, by which *Bodies* in general act upon one another. And therefore, supposing the same Object, the same Force of Impression, the same Situation, the same Disposition of the Organ, the same *Medium*, and the like; the Report of the Sense cannot but be the same: But where there is a Variation in any of these, the Perception is under a necessity of Varying too. Thus, (to use the Instance mention'd by *Charron*) when part of the Eye-Lid is press'd down by the Finger, the Rays are differently admitted into the Pupil, and fall upon two several places of the *Tunica Retina*, which consequently creates a twofold Impression of the Object: And This Duplicity is as natural and necessary in such a Disposition of the Eye, as truly agreeable to all the Rules of *Matter* and *Motion*, as a single Representation wou'd be in the usual Posture; so far from a Reflexion upon the Truth of Sense, that our Senses could not be true, if the thing were otherwise represented. A proportionable Difference must needs follow in the different Modifications of Light and Shades; (which is the Reason of that Appearance taken notice of here, of Pieces in *Relief*) the dextrous Management whereof makes the great Secret of the *Art of Painting*. So it is again, if there be any thing uncommon in the *Medium* through which the Rays pass from the Object to the Organ

gan of Senses ; which is the Case of Prismes, or of Eyes, either distorted in their Situation, or discolour'd in any of the Humours : and as These make a Change in the represented Colour of the Object, so does the Contraction or Dilatation of the Pupil, in the Magnitude or Figure of it. And the Eye, and other Organs of Sense, varying by Age, Sickness, Nature, or Accidents, unavoidably require different Sensations, in Persons of different Years and Conditions. The Matter coming much to one, whether the Object be variously represented through Distance, or its own Posture and Form, or through some Change and Defect of the Organ, which receives the Impression. All Which sufficiently accounts for the differing Sensations of Children, Grown-Men, and Aged Persons ; the different Tastes of the Sick and the Healthful ; and indeed the vast Diversity of Palats among Mankind in general : For here is a mighty Diversity in the Organ of Sense ; and the making one and the same Report is therefore impossible: For our Senses are like Messengers, and all their Business is, To be Faithful and True in delivering their Errand, as they have receiv'd it. If it were not given as it ought to be at first, (that is, if there be any accidental Defects to change the Appearance) This they are not responsible for ; but they are to tell what they feel, and hear, and see ; and in This they are faithful, and may be depended upon. For, That they may be trusted even in Matters of the greatest Consequence, is beyond all reasonable Contradiction ; not only from the most necessary and important Matters of Humane Life, being carry'd on upon the Confidence of this Testimony, but (which to a Christian is much more considerable) from all the External Evidences of *Religion* being put upon this Issue. The Life and Death, the Resurrection and Ascension of our Blessed

Blessed Saviour, the Doctrines he taught, and the Miracles he did in Confirmation of them, being so many Appeals to the Senses of those with whom he convers'd, and the great Motive to Persuasion, which the Apostle urges, is, that he deliver'd That to his Profelytes concerning the Word of Life, of which they had had all possible Demonstrations, since it was what He and his Fellow-Preachers *had heard, what they had seen with their Eyes, what they had looked upon, and their Hands* ^{1 John I. 3.} *had handled.* All which was certainly a very weak and impertinent Allegation, if the Senses are so liable to Mistakes, and so uncertain a Foundation of Knowledge, that we cannot with safety fix any Conclusions from the Reports they make to us. And yet it cannot be deny'd, but Men do very frequently err by too easie a Credulity in this respect, which ministers sufficient ground for our Second Enquiry.

II. *Whence those Errours do really proceed, which we find sometimes charged upon the Deceiveableness of our Senses.* In This, as well as some Other Particulars, *Epicurus* seems to have been very unfairly dealt withal by the *Stoicks*, and some other Philosophers of a contrary Party; who, because he asserted the Truth of the Senses, and vindicated their Fidelity in Reporting, have charg'd him with affirming, that a Man cou'd not possibly mistake in forming Judgments according to those Appearances. Whereas in Truth *Epicurus* only places the Senses in the Quality of Evidence, whose business it is to relate bare Matter of Fact, but does by no means deny the Jurisdiction of the Court to which those Accounts are given, to pass Sentence as shall seem just and equal. To this purpose is that *μετὰ τὸ αἰσθάνεσθαι*, which *Diogenes Laertius* in his Tenth Book mentions; and *Gassendus* in his Comment upon it, so rationally enlarges upon. By which is meant, that

that Men ought to avoid Precipitation, and not rashly pronounce, that Things are in reality as they are represented ; but calmly and slowly examine Circumstances, and observe the Causes of such Representations. Thus likewise *Lucretius* in his Fourth Book, after having instanc'd in several Appearances, which, when strictly enquir'd into, are found to differ from the Nature of the Things themselves, closes his Account with these very significant Verses,

*Cætera de genere hoc mirando multa videmus,
Quæ violare fidem quasi sensibus omnia quærunt.
Nequicquam. Quoniam pars horum maxima fallit,
Propter Opinatus animi, quos addimus ipsi, &c.*

Which the *English* Reader may take from *Mr. Creech* thus :

*Ten Thousand such appear, Ten Thousand Foes
To Certainty of Sense ; and All oppose :
In vain. 'Tis Judgment, not the Sense mistakes,
Which fancy'd Things for real Objects takes.*

If then One Light appear to be Two, when the Eye-Lid is press'd ; if a Square Building at a Distance seem Round ; if a Piece in Perspective seem a Cloyster or a Portico ; a Man is not presently to conclude that these are really such ; nor can he be excus'd if he do so. For Reason and Consideration wou'd convince him, that these Idea's must be so, and cou'd not be otherwise ; That the unnatural Disposition of the Eye must needs double the Image in the first Instance ; That the Distance of the Object will naturally cut off the Angles, and render the Perception less distinct, in the second ; and that Shades artificially cast, and some Strokes of the Pencil or Style bolder and stronger than

than the rest, will of necessity create imaginary Protuberances, and imaginary Distances in the Last. What Course then shall one take to prevent Errours in these Cases? In general; he must not be too hasty in giving Judgment, but bring these Things to the Test. The First must be viewed with his Eye in its usual Form and Condition; the Second he must make nearer Approaches to, and view it close at Hand: For the Third he may call in another Sense to his Assistance; and if the Eye alone cannot, the Touch must set him right.

But to this *Charron* replies, and not only He, but *Lucretius*, That no One Sense can possibly correct another:

An poterunt Oculos Aures reprehendere, an Aures Tactus? &c.

What? Can the Ears convince the Eyes? Can Those

Confute the Hand, the Palate, or the Nose?

Tell them wherein they err, when e'rr they miss,

And give false Notices? Fond Fancy this!

For Each a proper Use and Power enjoys,

A proper Object every Sense employs.

But after all, What is the true Meaning of this Argument, and how much does it amount to? No more than this. That All the Senses are not equally adapted to receive and distinguish all manner of Objects: that Each of them is equally Faithful in those peculiar to it: And consequently, the Eyes cannot correct the Ear in Sounds; nor the Ear the Nose in Smells: But does it follow from hence, that when two, or more of these Evidences are joyned, they will not corroborate the Testimony, and give a firmer Assurance? or that

Rea-

Saturn 7.
14.

Reason, which is the proper Judge may not sift out the Truth by confronting these Evidences against one another? This is a Construction wholly Foreign to the Place, and to the Philosopher's Design. And therefore (says *Empiricus*) as Physicians pronounce of a Disease not from One single Symptom, but from the Concurrence of several; and a Fever is distinguish'd, not only by the quickness of the Pulse, but by the Excess of Heat, the Redness of the Complexion, the Height of the Water, the Excessive Thirst, and other Characters known to the Skilful in that Art; So a doubting Philosopher makes a Judgment of Truth, by the Co-incidence and good Agreement of several Ideas compar'd together. And to the same Purpose, *Macrobius* hath described the Process fit for such Cases. If (says he) a Man sees the Figure of an Apple at a Distance, it does not presently follow that this is a real Apple; because this Resemblance may be form'd out of other Materials. What then shall he do to satisfy himself? Let him put it to the Tryal of another Sense, and judge of it by the Smell: But possibly it may have lain among Apples, and retain the Scent: Then consult the Touch, and examine the Weight of it: But perhaps the Cunning Artificer hath been very Nice in adjusting this too; If so, let him have recourse to the Taste, and if he find the true Relish of an Apple; these concurring Evidences leave no reasonable Doubt of its being really the very Fruit it at first seem'd to be. From hence it does not only appear, what Care ought to be taken in judging the Representations of Sense; but likewise, how it comes to pass, that Men so often err upon this Occasion. That it is meerly the Effect of Rashness, and Negligence; and the determining more than we have Evidence for. For these Ideas, and Impressions give us only the Appearances, and external Accidents of Things; and so long as we affirm them to appear so to us, we are safe, and cannot err. But if from these Accidents we shall under-

undertake to determine of their Substance and Nature: If we shall definitively say, They actually are what they appear, our own Mind misguides us; and the Fault lies not in the Evidence, which told us true; but in the Judge, who decides the Cause, without canvassing the Witnesses, and declares That for Right and Truth, which was never pos'd before him.

My Reader will easily apply what hath been said here (perhaps too tediously) to what our Author insinuates of the mutual Cheat, in his Sixth *Paragraph* of this Chapter. For hence it is that our Panick Fears, and other groundless and violent Passions of the Mind, grow to such Excesses, that they run away with the First Impressions, and never call in Reason, to calm and moderate the Disorder of the Spirits; but are perfectly transported in the present Heat and Agitation, and instead of examining, magnify the tormenting Ideas to themselves. All which is in no degree owing to the Natural Defect, either of Sense or Reason; but to Strength of Passion, and Neglect of such timely Remedies, as Nature hath provided us with, if not wholly to prevent, yet at least to abate, and soften, and reduce it to a convenient Temper.

III. I proceed now to the last Enquiry, *Whether all our Knowledge depend upon the Senses, so as that we can know nothing but by Their Means.* Here Gassendus forsakes me, and fiercely vindicates that receiv'd Opinion of some Old Philosophers, *That nothing can come at the Understanding, except it pass thro' some of the Senses in its Way thither.*

It is not asserted by those who undertake to maintain that Opinion, That nothing more can be known by us, than what the Impressions of Sense give us an immediate Perception of; but that we are instructed from Reflexion as well as

Sensation ; so that, by abstracting, enlarging, or otherwise modifying our Ideas, we come to understand the Nature of Things ; yet so as that we can understand nothing, except the Ideas of it are entertain'd clearly and distinctly ; either so as to represent to us the Thing it self ; or so as to give us sufficient Matter for Reflection to work upon, in raising fresh Ideas from it.

I. Thus it is, that they pretend to answer the Argument commonly urged against them, from that very Power we find in our selves, and the common Exercise of it, to correct the Errors of Imagination. For if all *Perceptions* of the *Mind* were *Corporeal Images* of the *Brain*, we must necessarily judge according to the Report of our Sensitive Organs ; and so the Sun must be concluded no bigger than he appears. No (say they) for the Mind knows very well that Distance lessens the Object to the Eye ; and therefore reflecting agreeably to the Rules given in the former Particular, it pronounces the Sun vastly bigger than it seems. But still, All this will not amount to those Reasons, which adjust its Magnitude, to be 160 times bigger than the Earth. Or, If they would, yet Proportions and Distances are meer Respects, and such as we can have no Corporeal Images of. These then are the Effect of another Principle ; and so is the Determinate Magnitude of this Body ; for tho' enlarging the Idea, and allowing for Distance, would create an Image vastly Bulky perhaps ; yet this could not state the exact Dimensions, nor form the Comparison in such Odds, between that Globe of Fire, and this of Earth.

II. Another Argument against all *Knowledge* proceeding from the *Senses*, is taken from Those, which are commonly call'd the *Reflex Acts of the Mind*, such as we perceive our Own Operations and Thoughts by : For all Ideas, which are intromitted by the Senses,

Senses, come from Material Objects, and such Impressions are subject to the common Laws of Matter ; one of which is, To act by Impulse, and upon something else, but not upon it self. So that it is impossible for the Mind to have its own Image convey'd through the Organs of Sense ; and consequently these sorts of Operations, by which it retires inward, and recollects, and views it self ; As they are undeniable in Fact, so are they in all Reason to be ascribed to some other Power than *Imagination* ; and such as the Senses and External Impressions have nothing to do in.

III. But though we should allow, that the Mind (as some have contended, though they have not been able to prove it) can by Similitude, Abstraction, and such other Methods, form Ideas even of these Things ; yet what shall we say to the Case of *Immaterial Substances* ? And that such there are, a Reflection upon our own Souls, the Objects about which they are conversant, their several Operations, and the manner of them, very incompatible with Matter and the Laws of Motion, will not suffer reasoning People to doubt. Now if all Knowledge be derived from our Senses, it must proceed from such Ideas as are drawn upon the Imagination, by Impressions upon the outward Organ, convey'd thither in the usual Course and Method of Sensation ; but these Impressions cannot be made otherwise, than by *Matter* and *Motion* ; and consequently, either we can have no distinct Notion, no Assurance of any Immaterial Substances ; or else we may have some Knowledge which does not depend upon, nor accrue to us from our Senses.

IV. At this rate, neither can we have any Idea at all of the First and most Perfect Being, God himself : For what Representations can Sense

give us ? What Reflections can it help us to, of a Being Infinite and Eternal, Independent, and produced from no other Cause ; such as hath the Properties of *Self*, and *Necessary Existence* inseparable from the Notion of it ? It is not the Image of an Old Man, nor the multiplying of Years into a vast Duration, that will do the Business here ; for still the main Difficulty, of never beginning, never ending ; Self-Origination, or *αὐτοθεότης* remains ; and will for ever remain, not only incapable of any sensible Representation, but a Contradiction to them all. And yet *Reason* assures us, That such a Being there certainly is ; nay, that there needs must be ; for without it, nothing could ever have been at all ; but We must lose our Selves, and all our Ideas, in a Maze and infinite Circle of Causes ; and shall never be able to account for the Existence of any Thing, which our Senses are confess'd to represent to us, unless we admit of One thing, which, it must be confess'd, they never can give us any sort of Representation of.

V. Once more. To come lower, and observe even Corporeal Substances themselves. Such as we see, and feel, and converse with every Moment. From such as these it is that our Senses are moved. But let us consider, what it is that moves them ; or how far we can be inform'd by such Impressions. Now it is granted on all Hands, That *Sense* can only instruct us in the Modes and Accidents of Things ; and yet All thinking Men must allow that those Accidents are not capable of subsisting alone. So that we can learn this way the Powers and Properties of Things, but not the Things themselves. Thus, while we are forced to make a Difference between the Natural and Real Essence, and the Properties or Accidents inherent in that Nature ; we must yield plainly, that all our Knowledge is so far from depending upon *Sense*, that

we

we cannot know any one Thing by it. Since every Man's Reason undeniably assures him, that there is something more intimate and deep, which no Ideas can reach to; and without which those Superficial Qualities, of which he hath any Idea, could not possibly subsist.

Upon the whole Matter it is certain, that there must be some common Notices and Principles, such as evidence themselves to every considering Mind, which do not only assist, but carry us beyond any sensible Ideas, or any Reflections they can be improved into: Concerning which, if my Reader desire more full Satisfaction, and would see this Argument illustrated at large, he will do well to consult the incomparably Learned and Judicious Bishop *Stillingfleet*, in his late *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*. Chap. X.

I add only upon this Occasion, That the foregoing Reasons are of good Force to prove, that the Humane Soul is of a more Noble Principle than *Matter*. For, indeed, not only *Reason*, but *Sensation*, is not to be solved upon other Terms. Of which the Modern Philosophers were well aware; who, when they asserted the Souls of Brutes to be meer Matter, soon found an absolute Necessity of affirming, that they were altogether void of Sense too: For tho' the outward Impression be made upon the Organ, yet it is a Reflex Act, which makes the Sensation, and informs the Patient of it. And such Acts they have not been able to conceive how *Matter* should be capable of. Since it is the Property of one Body to act upon another, but no Body can act upon it self.

C H A P. XI.

Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

*These Three
compared
together.*

THese are the Three Jewels, the most excellent and valuable Endowments, that belong to the Body of Man: None that appear to outward View, are comparable to them; but it will bear some Dispute which of the Three ought to be preferr'd. As to the Organ, by which they are perform'd, it must be confess'd, that That of the *Sight* is admirable for its charming Form, and nice Composition; it is beautiful, lively, and sparkling, made up of great Variety; its Parts subtle and small; and their Humours mix'd to Astonishment, both for Use and Comeliness. From whence that common Observation hath obtained, that the *Eye* is one of those Parts, which Nature first begins to form, and finishes one of the last. Upon the same Account This is one of the tenderest and most delicate Parts about us: Subject to a vast number of Diseases and Infirmities. Physicians and Anatomists have reckon'd no less than a Hundred and Twenty Indispositions incident to it. *Speech* is esteem'd the next in Dignity, but *Hearing* makes some amends for the last and lowest Place, by the many great Advantages belonging to it. *Sight* seems to be the most necessary and most serviceable to the Body. And this seems to be the reason, why it is of greater Consequence to Brutes, whose Advantages are chiefly Corporeal, than *Hearing* can be: But *Hearing* seems to challenge the Preference, with regard to the Advantages and Improvement of the Mind. *Sight* is principally useful for Invention,

vention, for most Things are discover'd by the help of this Sense ; but tho' it lays the first Foundations, and gives the Hints, yet it brings nothing to Perfection. It is farther to be consider'd, that Sight is capable of Perception in nothing but what is Corporeal, and it gives no Knowledge of Universals. Individuals and Bodies are its proper Object, and it cannot penetrate into these any deeper than the Shell or Surface. It is the proper Instrument of Ignorant and Unlearned Men, who look no farther than that which is just before them, and makes an Impression upon the outward Senses.

Hearing may be term'd an *Inward* and *Spiritual* 2.
Sense : It is the Agent and Conveyer of Intelli- *Hearing*
 gence to the Understanding ; the Instrument of *preferr'd.*
 Learning and Thought ; and receives not only Individuals, as Sight does, but dives into their most secret and abstruse Parts ; nay, it hath a Capacity so large as to comprehend General, Spiritual, Abstracted, and Divine Truths ; such as Sight is so far from giving us any Assistance in, that it rather disturbs and confounds us in the Disquisition of them. Accordingly, there have been many Instances of Great Men who have been blind, and yet singularly eminent for Wisdom and Knowledge ; and some of Persons who have depriv'd themselves of Sight, in order to the becoming more exquisite Philosophers ; but no one Example of either of these kinds can be produced in Deaf Persons. This is the Gate by which we enter, and storm the Castle ; By This we bend the Mind to Good or Evil. So Profane Story tells us of *Agamemnon's* Queen, whose Chastity was preserv'd by Musick : And so Sacred Story relates, that *Saul's* Evil-Spirit was charm'd by *David's* Harp : And so the *Roman* History observes, that *Gracchus*, the famous Orator, sweeten'd his Voice by the help

Rom. x. 17.

Heb. xi. 1.

of one that play'd to him upon the Flute, and taught him such Tones as were most moving, and for his purpose. In short, This is the Only Passage that Learning, and Truth, and Vertue have found to our Souls; and the *Gospel* it self enters by it: For the Apostle hath told us, That *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God*. And that they who obstinately stick to the Report of their Sight, will find it rather an Obstruction than an Informer in the highest Mysteries of Religion. That *Faith is the Evidence of Things not seen*, and the Belief of Testimonies that are heard: And accordingly the Primitive Christians had a Class of Believers to whom they gave the Title of *Audientes*, Hearers. To all This I may add, That This Sense is of great Use in the Dark, and when Men are asleep, by giving them seasonable Alarms, and awakening them to provide for their Defence and Preservation. Upon all these Accounts, the Philosophers are so profuse in their Praises of *Hearing*, recommending the diligent Use of it, advising us to purge our Ears, and keep them clean from Prejudice and Corruption; This being the best Security, the surest Guard of our Souls, as a Commander in Garrison would make it his first and chief Care, to keep strict Centry, and line the Gates and Walls well, for fear an Enemy should rush in and surprize him.

3.
The Power
of Speech.

Speech is a particular Favour of Nature to Mankind, and a very useful, necessary, and excellent Gift it is. Consider it with respect to the Speaker, and it is the Image and Interpreter of the Soul; the Messenger of the Heart, the Door by which all that lies within, comes out, and shews it self abroad. Whatsoever is born in Darkness, is thus brought forth into the Light; the Mind discovers and displays it self most clearly this way; which gave occasion to that Saying of one of the Ancients

ents, * *Speak, that I may know what you are.* Thus Men are like Vessels, which by the Sound are quickly distinguish'd, whether they be broken or whole, full or empty; and Speech to Them is like the Touchstone to Metals; the Counterfeit and the true Standard are immediately known by it.

But if we consider it with regard to the Persons to whom it is directed, thus it is a powerful and an imperious Master; enters the Castle, seizes the Governour; it moves and stirs him, it animates and encourages, it provokes and appeases, it raises and dejects him; it overwhelms him with Grief, and transports him with Joy; makes what Impressions, inspires what Passions it pleases; manages and moulds the Soul into any Form, and bends it all manner of ways: Nay, it extends its Dominion over the Body too; makes that Red with Blushes, and Pale with Fear; provokes Laughter and Tears; forces it to start and shiver; to tremble with Anger, leap for Joy, swoon and faint away with Violence of Passion.

Consider it with regard to the World in general, and *Speech* is as it were the Hand of the Soul, which This uses as the Body does the Natural one, for taking and receiving, for asking and for giving Assistance. This is the great Goer-between, the Carrier of Intelligence, the Factor for Trade †, as the *Latin* Etymologists tell us, that the Word which signifies *Traffick* and *Commerce*, derives it self from *Mercury* the God of *Eloquence*. By It Treaties of Peace are made, War proclaim'd, all manner of Business publick and private negotiated and dispatched; Learning, and all the hidden Treasures of the Mind uttered and distributed: For This in Truth is the Original and the Instrument of all Communication; the Band and Cement of Hu-

* *Eloquere, ut videam.*

† *Merx à Mercurio.*

mane Society, (provided the Language be perfectly understood; for, as one of the Ancients said, *A Man had better be in the Company of a Dog that he knows, and is acquainted with, than in that of another Man, who cannot make himself understood by us.* So that one Foreigner to another does by no means answer the † Character of his Nature, and is in effect as no Man.)

Prov.
xviii. 21.

Of a good
and ill
Tongue.
Prov. x. 20.
xii. 18.
xv. 4.

In short, The *Tongue* is a Tool converted to all manner of Uses; and Instrument of Good and Evil, as *Wisdom* it self hath taught us; *Life and Death are in the Power of the Tongue.* The Advantages and the Inconveniences that proceed from it are never to be exprest; a prudent or an incautious, a wicked, or a conscientious use of it, disposes our own, and sometimes other Peoples Fortunes; or draws down infinite Dangers; preserves or destroys Reputation: So that nothing is of better or worse Consequence than the Tongue. *The Tongue of the Wise and Just* (says the same Divine *Wisdom*) *is as choice Silver, it is Health, it is a Tree of Life, enriching, healing, reconciling; a Preservative and a Happiness.* It is as the Door to a Royal Cabinet, upon the opening whereof we immediately see a Thousand precious Rarities, more beautiful, more valuable than all the Wealth of both the *Indies*; more fragrant and refreshing than all the Gums and Spices of *Arabia*. The Wise draws out his Artillery in order, sets his Philosophical Aphorisms and profitable Sentences in array, applies his Similitudes and Examples pertinently and seasonably, improves others by his reading, and renders the Histories of former Ages of present and publick Use, enriches all he converses with out of his own inexhaustible Mine; offers nothing but what is solid, and substantial, and try'd; and is ready

† Ut externus alieno non sit hominis vice.

upon all occasions, (like the Wealthy and Prudent Householder alluded to in the Gospel) *to bring forth out of his Treasures things new and old.* Such beneficial Instructions as may be of use to regulate the Manners of private Persons, and direct the Government and Administration of the Publick; such as may be serviceable to all Circumstances, all the Parts and Duties of Men, and teach them both how to Live, and how to Die well. And when These are introduc'd at seasonable Times, and manag'd with Discretion, the Beauty and the Pleasure of them is exceeding great, as well as the Benefit and Advantage; *A Word fitly spoken is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.* So the Wisest of Men hath express'd the Counsels, or Reproofs, or Comforts handsomly deliver'd; and what can possibly be more grateful, more valuable, more ornamental?

Mat. xiii.
Prov. xxv. 11.

The *Mouth* of a wicked Man, quite contrary, is a noisom stinking Pit; his Breath is contagious, and kills like a Pestilence; murders his Neighbour secretly, stabs and wounds his Reputation to Death; and then insults over his mangled Honour with a barbarous Triumph. It is Sword, and Fire, and Poyson, and Death, and Hell, and every thing that is Mischievous and Destructive. The Holy Spirit it self hath allow'd it no better a Character; for St. James hath call'd it a *Fire, a World of Iniquity, a Defiler of the whole Body, and Incendiary to the Course of Nature; and this Firebrand it self kindled in Hell.* And the Son of Syrach hath enlarg'd upon the Subject so well, that the whole Passage ought to be inserted. *Curse the Whisperer and Double-tongued, for such have destroy'd many that were at Peace. A back-biting Tongue hath disquieted many, and driven them from Nation to Nation; strong Cities hath it pull'd down, and overthrow'n the Houses of great Men. Whoso bearkeneth unto it shall never find rest, nor dwell quietly.*

Jam. iii. 6.

Ecclus. xxviii.

13—21.

The

The Stroke of the Whip maketh Marks in the Flesh, but the Stroke of the Tongue breaketh the Bones. Many have fallen by the Edge of the Sword, but not so many as have fallen by the Tongue. Well is He that is defended from it, and hath not pass'd through the Venom thereof; who hath not drawn the Yoke thereof, nor hath been bound in her Bands. For the Yoke thereof is a Yoke of Iron; and the Bands thereof are Bands of Brass. The Death thereof is an evil Death, the Grave is better than it.

4.
Correspondence of
Hearing
and Speech.

Now these Two, *Hearing* and *Speech*, answer, and have a near and intimate Relation to one another; each of them single is of no Significance at all; and therefore Nature, to make Either of them useful, found it necessary to supply us with Both. They are the Two Doors of the Soul, whereby she sends in and out, and holds a Correspondence all the World over; nay, she does not only send, but go; for by these two, like Vessels with their Orifices joyn'd, the Soul communicates and pours out her Thoughts, and transfuses her very Self into another's Breast. Where these Passages are shut and closed, as they are in the *Deaf* and *Dumb*, the Mind is in perpetual Misery and Solitude; for *Hearing* is the Door for Entrance, and *Speech* for going Abroad: By the former of these, the Soul receives the Conceptions of others; by the latter she imparts and enriches them with her own. The mutual Operation of these Two may be resembled to the Flint and the Steel, from the Concussion and Strokes whereof, *Truth*, like a Sacred Fire, is kindled; for They agitating and polishing each other, scour off the Rust of the Mind, brighten and beautifie it, and bring all Knowledge to Perfection. Only we must observe, that these Noble Effects have their first Beginning from the *Hearing*; for Wisdom must needs have been put into the Mind before it can be drawn

drawn out from thence. And accordingly we see that Persons born Deaf, are constantly Dumb too. The first thing to be done is to furnish this House within, which is ordinarily done by Hearing; and then follows the distributing our Stores by Conversation and Speech: So that the Good and Evil of what we speak, will depend upon the Good and Evil of what we hear: For such as we are accustomed to receive, such of necessity we must give back again: And therefore a Man should above all things keep his Ears chaste and unpoluted, and stop them against Vice and Indecency; for this sort of Communication is exceeding infectious, and taints the Mind presently. The Advices that are proper for the Use and Government of our Speech, will be insisted upon hereafter.

Book III.

Chap. 43.

C H A P. XII.

*Of the other Faculties, viz. Imagination,
Memory, and Appetite.*

THE *Fancy* or *Imaginative Faculty*, first collects the several Images receiv'd by the Senses, forms Ideas out of them, and lays them up for use. This is done in so accurate and faithful a manner, that though the Objects themselves be far distant, nay, though the Man be asleep, and all his Senses lock'd up, yet this Faculty represents them to the Mind and Thoughts, in Images so strong, so lively, that the Imagination does the very same to the Understanding now, which the Object it self did, by the first and freshest Impressions heretofore.

The

The *Memorative Faculty* is the Register and Store-House of all the Idea's and Images first perceiv'd by the Senses, and then collected and seal'd up by the Imagination.

The *Appetite* seeks, and pursues, and culls out of all these things so apprehended, such of them as appear to be Good and most Agreeable.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Intellectual Faculty ; which is peculiar to the Humane Soul.

- I. **B**Efore we enter upon any other Discourse relating to this Subject, it is necessary to observe the Seat or Instrument of this Faculty, and then its Action, or Method of Operating.

*The Seat
and Instru-
ment of the
Soul.*

Now the Seat, or rather the Throne of the Reasonable Soul, where it sits and reigns Supreme, is not the Heart, (as was generally supposed before *Plato* and *Hippocrates*) but the Brain : For the Heart is not capable of Wisdom, but is properly the Seat and Source of Vegetation. Now the Brain, which in Man much exceeds the Quantity assign'd to any other Creature, must be so contriv'd and dispos'd, that the Reasonable Soul may act freely ; and in order hereunto, the Figure of it must be almost like that of a Ship ; it must not be a perfect Round, it must not be too Great, nor too Little ; though of the Two Extremes the Excess is much less to be found fault with, than the Defect : It must be compos'd of a delicate fluid Substance, of fine and subtle Parts, and these well joyn'd together, and all united without any Separation, or void Spaces throughout the whole. It hath Four small Cavi-
ties

vities or Ventricles, Three of which lie forward in the middle, and are plac'd in a Collateral Line to one another: The Fourth lies behind these, toward the hinder part of the Head, and is single by it self. This is the Shop in which the Vital Spirits are first form'd and united, in order to the being afterwards converted into Animal Spirits, and then convey'd into the Three Cavities that lie forward: And these Animal Spirits are the Instruments made use of by the Soul, for discharging her several Functions, and exercising all her Faculties. Those Faculties are likewise Three; the *Understanding*, the *Memory*, and the *Imagination*: And these are not exercis'd distinctly and apart, nor hath each of them a different Ventricle of the Brain appropriated to it; (which is all an old and vulgar Errour concerning them) but their Operations are altogether, and in common. All the Three Faculties exert themselves in all and every of the Three Cavities; somewhat like our Bodily Senses, which are double, and have Two Organs, in each of which the same Sense performs all its Operations entire. From hence it comes to pass, that a Man who is hurt or disabled in Two of these Three Ventricles, (as one in a Palsie, for Instance) does yet continue to have the use of all his Three Faculties: That is, he understands, and remembers, and forms Idea's still, by virtue of that One Cavity, which the Disease hath not yet seized upon. It is true, he does this more weakly, and every Operation of every kind is more imperfect than it was formerly, because the Strength and Vigour of One is not equal to the united Force of Three: But yet it evidently follows from hence, that each Faculty hath not its Work-house in a distinct Apartment, and entire to it self alone; for then, as soon as any of these Ventricles begins to be disabled, that Faculty to which it be-

belongs, must immediately cease, and cou'd never more be exerted in any Degree at all.

3.
How far
the Reasonable Soul
is Orga-
nical.

Some Persons have been of Opinion, that the *Reasonable Soul* is not Organical; that is, that it can act separately and independently, and hath no need of any Corporeal Instrument to assist it in the Discharge of its Functions. And this Notion they have been more fond of, because they imagine it of Consequence for proving the *Immortality of the Soul*. Now without engaging in a vast and dark Labyrinth of Dispute, about a Matter which we are incapable of knowing perfectly, this Question may be brought to a short Issue: For if we will but credit our own Eyes, and our own Experience, every Day gives us Demonstrations, which overthrow this Opinion, and establish the contrary. It is certain that all Men have not equal Capacities, nor do they apprehend things, or argue upon them alike, but the Disparity is very great and visible between one Man and another. It is no less evident, that the same Person changes, and differs from himself; that his Reason is more clear, and perfect, and strong at one Time, and at one Age, in one Disposition of Body, and in one Circumstance of Fortune and Life, than it is in another. One Man can do nothing except he have Ease and Leisure; another requires Dangers and Difficulties to rouse him, and never thinks to purpose, till he be prest hard, and driven to Extremities: A Third finds himself much more capable in Health than in Sicknes: And a Fourth feels his Mind most vigorous and active, than when his Diseases and Weakness have reduc'd his Body lowest. The same Man at one Season excels in Judgment, and flags in his Fancy; so that One Faculty decays in proportion as Another improves. Now the most probable Account that can be given for all these Differences and Alterati-

rati-

rations, seems to be a Difference in the State and Disposition of the Organs, which are to the Soul as Tools to the Artificer. Which way but this shall we answer for the strange Effects we see produc'd by Drunkenness, by the Bite of a Mad Dog, by a high Fever, by a Blow upon the Head, by the Vapours that rise from the Stomach and annoy the Brain ; and by several other Accidents which affect any of the Parts thereabouts ? What Confusions do they make, how perfectly stupid, and childish, and frantick do Men grow upon them, lose their Memory quite, and feel their Heads turn'd upside down, their former Ideas erased, their Judgment destroy'd ? All the Wisdom of *Greece* is not able to maintain it self against them ; and if the Shock be very violent indeed, then it does not only disturb and enfeeble, but quite drive away the Soul, and constrain her to remove out of the Body. Now it is plain, that these Accidents are purely Corporeal, and consequently they cannot affect what is not so ; they can never fly so high as the Exalted and Spiritual Faculties of the Reasonable Soul ; all that they can do is to vitiate the Organs, to put Them out of their Course, and intercept the usual Communications ; and when This is once effected, the Soul can no longer act regularly ; She may command, but They cannot obey ; and if these Organs are sore bruised, and distorted very grievously, then She and They can no longer subsist together : The Lodging is no longer fit to entertain her, and she must be gone.

Now I do by no means see, how this Opinion can be guilty of any Prejudice to that of the *Immortality of the Soul* ; For first, We are not here enquiring what the Soul is, but how she operates, and what Laws of Action she is bound up to, while in Conjunction with a Mortal Body. And

Secondly, The making Use of Corporeal Instruments, does by no means prove the User to be Corporeal, or Mortal. God, without all Question, is Immortal, and yet God himself does not think it below him to use such ; and to proportion the Effects and Operations of his Providence to them. He produces Men of different Understandings and Parts, according to the Constitution of their Parents, and the Concurrence of other Natural Causes ; nay, even according to the different Climate, and Country, and Air they are born in. For *Greece* and *Italy* have ever been observ'd to produce Men of quicker and clearer Wit than *Muscovy* and *Tartary*. And as God does in this Case, so does the Mind in others. It reasons better or worse, remembers more or less faithfully, hath a more fruitful, or more barren Imagination, according as the Organs (which are the Corporeal Instruments appointed to serve it upon these Occasions) are better or worse disposed to do their Duty. Now the Brain is properly the Instrument of the Reasonable Soul, and therefore upon the due Temperament of This, a great deal must needs, indeed the Whole in a manner, will depend : That therefore shall be the next Thing we attempt to give an Account of.

4.
Of the
Tempera-
ment of the
Brain.

By this *Temperament* is to be understood the Mixture and Proportion of the *Four Prime Qualities*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry* ; or rather a *Fifth Quality*, which is, as it were, a Harmony resulting from a due Conjunction of all these together, like that Concord in Sounds, which arises from a Friendly Complication of different Notes. Now upon that Mixture of the Brain it is, that the State and the Operations of the Reasonable Soul depend. Only This is Man's great Unhappiness, that the *Three Faculties*, *Understanding*, *Memory*, and *Imagination*, do each of them require different, nay, contrary Temperaments, for their Exercise and Perfection. The
Tempera-

Temperament proper for the *Understanding* is a Pre-
dominance of Dry ; and this gives us some Ac-
count, how it comes to pass, that Persons far gone
in Years, are more Intelligent and Judicious than
those that are Younger. For, besides the Advanta-
ges which Art, and Study, and Experience may give
them ; they have a Disposition to it from Nature ;
The Brain, as Men grow older, purifying it self
from Excrementitious Humours, and growing dryer
every Day : For the same Reason, in all likeli-
hood, Melancholy Persons, and those under Af-
fliction and Want, and Persons that are fasting
(it being an Effect of Grief and Fasting to keep
the Brain dry) may be better disposed to think ;
and qualify'd to do it to good Purpose, as well as
some of them are necessitated, by their Circum-
stances, to apply themselves to it. This is farther
observable in Brutes ; Ants, and Bees, and Ele-
phants, as they are the dryest, so they are the most
capable and ingenious of any ; and those of a
moist Constitution, (the Swine for Instance) are
stupid and senseless. Thus again in Men ; Those
of Southerly Countries excel in Wisdom, from the
Drought of their Brain, and their inward Heat
being moderated by that of a violent Sun with-
out, which exhales it.

The *Temperament* best accommodated to the *Me-
mory* is *Moist* ; and hence it is that Children are
more ready and perfect in it than Old People ;
hence it is most apt and faithful in a Morning,
when the Brain hath been well refreshed, and
thoroughly moistned by a good Night's Sleep ; hence
also the Inhabitants of the *Northern* Climates have
the strongest Memories, for These are under a
moister Air, by means of their great Distance from
the Sun. But this Moisture must not be so mi-
staken, as if I meant, that the Temper of the
Memory is fluid, like Water ; but rather such a

Moisture as we may observe in Air, Glew, Grease, or Oyl; something of such a Substance and Continuity of Parts, as may both take the Impression easily, and keep it a great while; as we see Pictures do that are laid in Oyl Colours.

The *Temperament* fittest for the *Imagination*, is *Hot*, which makes Distracted, Hair-brain'd, and Feverish People, excel all others in bold and lofty Flights of Fancy. Thus *Poetry*, *Divination*, and all that depends upon *Imagination*, were always thought to proceed from a sort of Fury and Inspiration. This Faculty is for the same reason most vigorous in Youth and the Flower of our Age: The Poets accordingly flourished at these Years, and Almighty God, (who even in Supernatural Influences and Effects, made great Use of Natural Causes, and did as little Violence as was possible, to a Course of his own Instituting) order'd the Matter so, that most of the Prophets should do so too. The same Reason holds likewise for those Middle Regions, and more moderate Climates, between the *North* and the *South*, where Men are observ'd to excel in those Arts and Sciences, which are deriv'd from the Strength and Sprightliness of Fancy.

Now, from this great Inequality of these Mixtures and Proportions, it frequently happens, that a Man may be tolerably well to pass in all these Three Faculties, and not arrive at an Excellence in any one of them; as also, That a Man may be conspicuous, and exceeding well Accomplish'd in one of these Respects, and yet very Wanting and Despicable in the other Two. It is manifest, the *Temperaments* adapted for the *Memory* and the *Understanding*, are the most Distant and Contrary in the World; for what can be more so than *Moist* and *Dry*? That of the *Imagination* does not seem so remote from the rest, for *Hot* will agree well enough with *Moist* or *Dry*, and is far from being In-

Incompatible with either ; and yet, tho' these seem so consistent in Nature, we see them very seldom reconcil'd in Fact ; For those who are esteem'd most Excellent in *Imagination*, are generally found very Weak both in Point of *Memory* and *Understanding* ; and thought near a-kin to Fools or Mad-men. The Reason whereof may possibly be This. That the *Heat*, which feeds and exalts their *Imagination*, waists and exhausts that *Moisture*, with which the *Memory* is assisted ; and also the finest and most volatile of Those Spirits, of which that *Dryness* partakes, which is serviceable to the *Understanding* ; and the Faculty, when destitute of these, grows flat and heavy. So that in effect This is an Enemy to both the other Temperaments, and Experience shews it to be destructive of them.

From all that hath been said we may plainly see, that the Principal *Temperaments*, which serve, assist, and set the Reasonable Soul on working, and which distinguish the Excellencies of the Mind, according to its Faculties, are *Three*, and cannot exceed that Number. For *Cold*, which is the *Fourth*, is of no Significance at all ; *Hot*, and *Moist*, and *Dry* only, can contribute to Mens Ingenuity. The Other is a sluggish unactive Principle, and, instead of quickening, does only benumb and stupify the Soul, and put a Stop to all its Motions. Therefore, when in reading some Authors, we find them recommending *Cold*, as of Use to the *Understanding*, and saying, that Men of a Cold Brain, such as those of Melancholy Complexions, or under the Southern Climes, are Prudent, Wise, Ingenious, and the like ; we must not there understand the Word *Cold* in its natural and most received Sense, but interpret it of a large Abatement and more moderate Degree of *Heat* only. For nothing can be more opposite to *Wisdom*, and a good *Understanding*, than that Excess of *Heat*, which yet to

5.
But Three
of them.

the bettering of the Imagination, and refining the Fancy would be of great Importance. And, according to the Three Temperaments of the Brain, there are Three corresponding Faculties of the Reasonable Soul. But both the One and the Other of These admit of several Degrees; and may be variously subdivided and distinguished.

6. *The Faculties Subdivided.* The Principal Offices to be discharged by the *Understanding*, and the different Qualifications of Men, with regard to it, are *Three*; To *conclude truly*, To *distinguish nicely*, and To *choose wisely*. The Sciences that fall properly under this Faculty, are School-Divinity; The Speculative Part of Physick, Logick, Natural and Moral Philosophy.

The *Memory* hath likewise Three Qualities to be distinguish'd by. For there is *One sort of Memory*, which easily receives Impressions, and easily loses them again. A *Second*, which quickly remembers, and seldom or never forgets; and a *Third*, where the Impression is hard to be made, and yet is presently worn out again. The Sciences proper to this Faculty are Grammar, and the Theory of the Civil Law, Dogmatical Divinity, Cosmography, and Arithmetick.

The *Imagination* abounds in Distinctions, and Differences are occasion'd by it, much more than either the *Memory* or the *Understanding* is capable of. To this belong, after a more peculiar manner, Fanciful Inventions, Pleasant Conceits, Witty Jests, Sharp Reflections, Ingenious Repartees; Fictions and Fables, Figures and Comparisons, Propriety and Purity of Expression; and, in a Word, All that Quaintness, and Elegance, and Easiness, which adorns Conversation, and becomes the Character of a Man of Sense and Good Breeding. And therefore we may range under this Division, Poetry, Eloquence, Musick, Correspondence, Harmony, and Proportion.

Now

Now, from hence it appears, that Sprightlinefs, 7.
 Subtilty, Readinefs of Parts, and all that which *The Proper-*
 commonly goes by the Name of *Wit*, is to be *ties of the*
 imputed to the *Warmth of Imagination*; *Solidity,* *several Fa-*
culties.

Mature Judgment, and Truth, to the *Dryness of the Understanding*. The *Imagination* is Active, and Blustering, and Busy; keeps all about it awake, and sets the other Faculties on work. The *Understanding* is a grave, sedate, and severe Action; The *Memory* acts not at all, but is purely Passive; and the manner of these Operations seems to be thus. In the First Place, the *Imagination* collects together the Ideas and Figures of Things, not only such as are present by the Conveyance and Ministry of the Five Senses; but those that are absent too, by the Assistance of that Inward and Common Receptacle, called the *Sensorium commune*, where the Forms of them lie deposited. The next Thing in order, is to represent these to the *Understanding* (if that be thought fit) and then this Faculty takes them into Consideration; examines, digests, and makes a Judgment of them. When That is over, the *Imagination* lays them up carefully to be preserved in the *Memory*; as a Man takes down a Memorandum in his Table-Book) that so they may be consulted, and made use of again, when any future Occasion shall call for them. Or if the *Imagination* be not so disposed, then she commits these Things into the *Memory's* Custody, without referring them to the *Understanding* at all, and so the Second Branch of this Operation is wholly superseded. Now this Account informs us, that the Acts of Recollection, representing to the Intellectual Faculty, laying up in the Memory, and drawing out those Stores again for Use, are all of them Operations of the Imaginative Faculty. So that That Common Repository, the Internal Sense, (*Reminiscence*, as it is called) and Fancy, come

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within

within the Compass of This, and are not (as some pretend) Powers of the Mind, distinct and separate from it. And, consequently, there is nothing in those Operations that should oblige us to quit the former Division, or allow more Faculties of the Reasonable Soul, than the Three already insisted upon.

8.
The Facul-
ties compa-
red toge-
ther.

The Common People, who (to give them their due) are very seldom in the right, have an high Esteem, and make a marvellous to do with *Memory*, extolling This infinitely above the other Two; The only Reason whereof seems to be, that this hath more of Shew, is more pretending and forward, and makes a greater Noise in Conversation. Hence it is, That a Man whose Memory is well stored, is usually reputed a great Scholar; and that to pronounce one a Person of good Parts, you look no farther than his having a good Memory; as if *Learning* were to be preferr'd before *Wisdom*, which indeed comes infinitely short of it; and this Faculty from whence it is furnish'd, is the least valuable of all the Three; For it is consistent with great Folly, and insufferable Impertinence; and very rarely to be met with in any great Degree, where the Person excels in Understanding and Wisdom; for the Temperaments indeed from whence they result, are contrary to one another. From this vulgar Error, I suppose the improper Methods of Teaching Children, to have taken their Rise; it being the Custom of Country-Schools almost every where, to follow them close with Tasks to be got by Heart, (as they call it) that so they may be able to repeat, and quote Things readily out of Books. Thus they stuff their Memories full, and load them with the Riches of other Men, without taking any care to awaken and whet the Understanding; to form or to refine the Judgment: Which, after all, is the most ne-

necessary Part of Instruction, to shew them the true Worth of their Natural Faculties, to draw out the Stores and Abilities of their own Mind, and by the Exercise and Improvement of their Home-Growth, to render them considerate, and wise, and qualify'd for all manner of Business. Accordingly we see, that many of your Scholars, which carry all *Aristotle* and *Cicero* in their Heads, are mere *Prigs* and *Puts*, and incapable of any Management at all, and that, (generally speaking) the World is led by the Nose, and all the weightiest Affairs of Governments entrusted with Men of little or no Learning. Which yet, no doubt, is of infinite Advantage, and wou'd render even the prudentest and cunningest Politicians, yet more capable than they are, if wisely instill'd, and well us'd. But then they must not (as the Way of the World is) value themselves upon Other Mens Wisdom; nor think it their Own, because they remember it; but make it so, by digesting what they read, incorporating it with their own Thoughts, refining and improving upon it, and knowing how to convert it to the Use and Benefit of themselves and others. But to return; All Wise Men have given the Preference to the *Understanding*; and admit it to be the most excellent and choicest Piece of Furniture belonging to the Mind. If this moves right, all the rest goes true, and the Man is wise; and if this be false, the whole Movement is out of Course. *Imagination* is the Second in Dignity; and *Memory* is the Last and Lowest.

The following Similitude may perhaps contribute something to our apprehending the true State of these Faculties, and the different Circumstances and Relations they are in, more perfectly. The *Reasonable Soul* then cannot be more painted to the Life, than by forming an Idea of it to our selves, as a Court of Judicature. Now in every such

9.

*An Image
of the Three
Faculties.*

such Court there are *Three Degrees* and Orders of Persons concern'd: The Uppermost and most Honourable Order is the *Bench of Judges*; and here there is little or no Noise, but a World of Business and Dispatch: For They proceed calmly and quietly; and without any Hurry or Passion, try Causes, decide Controversies and Claims, make Decrees, and give the Final Determination to all Matters brought before them: This carries a very lively Resemblance to the *Understanding*, which is the highest, the most honourable, and the judging Faculty of the Soul. The *Second* is the *Bar*, where the Council and the Attorneys are plac'd; and here is a World of Clutter, and Bawling, and Noise, but nothing done; for they can bring nothing to an Issue; They make no Orders nor Awards, pronounce no Sentences: All Their Business is only to discuss Matters, to plead the Cause, and to lay it before the Judge. This is a lively Picture of the *Imagination*, which is a loud, a blustering, and a restless Faculty; never lies still, not even then, when the Soul seems perfectly bound up in the profoundest Sleep; but is eternally buzzing about the Brain, like a boiling Pot; and this can never fix, or come to a peremptory Resolution in any thing. The *Third* and last Degree is that of the *Notaries*, and *Registers*, and *Clerks*; where there is neither Noise nor Action: It is no Part of their Concern which way Things go; they are purely Passive; and all they have to do, is to make Entries of what passes in Court, and to take care that the Records be faithfully kept, and ready to be produc'd upon occasion. This gives us no ill Idea of the *Memory* and its Office.

10.
Its Operations.

The *Action* or Employment of the Soul is *Knowledge* or *Understanding*; and this is of Universal Extent: For the Mind is a House open to every Guest;

Guest ; a Subject ready to receive any Impression. As the Philosophers say the Primitive Matter is disposed to be moulded into any Forms ; or as a Looking-Glass receives and reflects all Faces ; so this Soul is capable of considering all things indifferently, be they Visible or Invisible, Universals or Particulars ; Objects of Sense or not, the *Understanding* is in at All. But (if we may be allow'd to argue from the vast, and almost infinite Diversity of Opinions, and the still growing Doubts upon this Matter) it is acquainted with it self the least of any thing. This Knowledge is but dim and indirect : It is attained by Reflection only, and the Knowledge of other Things brought home, and apply'd to it self : By which it feels, that it does understand, and thence infers a Power and Capacity of this kind. This seems to be the Method, by which our Minds attain to the Knowledge of Themselves. Almighty God, who is the Sovereign Mind, knows Himself first, and all Things else in Himself : But Man, who is the last and lowest of all the Intellectual World, inverts that Order quite, and discerns other Things before he can come to any Knowledge of Himself ; for his Mind is in Contemplation of other Objects, (like the Eye in a Looking-Glass) which cannot work upon it self without the help of a *Medium*, and sees nothing at Home, while the Vision is continu'd in a straight Line, but can do it by Reflection only.

But the great Difficulty to be enquir'd into II.
upon this Occasion, concerns the Manner of Ope- *The manner*
ration, and by what Method the Soul attains to *of it.*
the Knowledge of Things. The most receiv'd Opinion is that deriv'd from *Aristotle*, importing, That the Mind understands and is instructed by the Senses : That it is naturally and of it self, a perfect Blank, a clean white Paper ; and that
what.

whatever is written in it afterwards, must be dictated by the Senses, and cannot be convey'd thither any other way.

But first of all, This is far from being Universally true; for, (as was hinted before, and the Point referred hither for a farther Disquisition) there have been great Authorities of Philosophers, that the first Seeds of all Sciences, and Vertues, and necessary Knowledge, are originally sown in our Minds, and grafted there by Nature; so that Men may if they please, live very comfortably, and grow Rich out of their own Stock; and, provided they take but a little care to cultivate and cherish the kindly Beginnings, the Harvest will not fail to be plentiful, and abundantly to reward their Pains.

Again; That Opinion seems highly injurious to God and Nature, and taxes them with unreasonable Partiality: For upon these Terms the Rational Soul is more sparingly dealt with, and left in a much worse Condition, than either the Vegetative, or Sensitive, or any other Creature whatsoever: For all These, as hath already been observ'd, exercise their Functions readily, and are sufficiently instructed by their own Native Endowments, in all Things necessary for their Purpose. Thus Beasts apprehend several Things without Experience, and the Discipline of Sense: They make Inferences, so far as their Case requires, and conclude Universals from Particulars: From the sight of one Man they know the Humane Shape where-soever they see it again; they are forewarn'd to avoid Dangers, even while invisible; and to follow after That which is agreeable and beneficial to Themselves, and their Young: And wou'd it not be a Reproach, or scandalous Blunder and Absurdity in Nature, if this Noble, this Divine Faculty, shou'd have no Provision at all of its own, but

See Adv.
upon Chap.
XXIV.

but sent about a begging, and depend for mere Necessaries upon so mean, so frail Relief, as what the Senses are able to give?

Once more; How can we perceive that the *Understanding* shou'd go to School to the *Senses*, and be taught by Them, who are not able to teach themselves? What precious Masters are these, whose utmost Knowledge goes no deeper than barely the Accidents and Outsides of Things? For, as to the Natures, Forms, and real Essences of them, they know nothing at all of the Matter. And if This be the Case of *Individual* Substances, much less are they capable of penetrating into *Universals*, the dark and profound Mysteries of Nature, and all those things which do not affect the Sense at all.

Besides; If all *Knowledge* were deriv'd from the *Senses*, the Consequence of this (one would think) shou'd be, That They, whose Senses are the quickest, strongest, and most discerning, wou'd always be the Persons most conspicuous for Ingenuity, and Learning, and Skill in Reasoning. But we frequently see it happen just contrary; that such People are the dullest, most stupid, and most incapable of all others. Nay, some Persons have thought their Bodily Senses rather an Obstruction than any Advantage to their Improvement: And upon that Account have wilfully depriv'd themselves of them, that so the Soul might be more expedite and free, and do her Business without Distraction, when the Avocations and Disturbance of Sensible Objects were taken out of the way.

Now if this Matter be as I have represented it; you will ask perhaps, Why these Things are not always perform'd by the Soul, and why not by every Man alike? What hinders that all should not be equally Wise and Knowing; but especially, why it shou'd lie dormant, without being reduc'd into act; or, if it do act, how comes
it

it to pass that its Operations are not always equal, that it goes about its Duty feebly, and performs its Functions much more lamely and imperfectly at one Season than at another? This is the Case even of the Wisest and most Capable Persons; and some are so miserably stupid, that the *Intellectual Soul* seems never to exert it self at all. Where it does, the *Vegetative Soul* is vigorous and active in Youth, and very weak in Old Age: It is then decay'd, and spent, and cannot repair the Losses of Nature, (those of Teeth especially.) Which yet it does with the greatest Ease imaginable, in Children and young People. The *Reasonable Soul*, quite contrary, is evidently weaker in Infancy and Youth, and cannot exert it self then, as it does afterwards in riper Years, and old Age: This also performs some sort of Actions in some sorts of Distempers, which it hath not power to do in time of perfect Health: and others again there are perform'd in time of Health, which it is utterly incapacitated for, when the Body labours under a Distemper.

Now all these Objections are insufficient: For, First of all, They who hold the Opinion I am now contending for, never pretend, that the Faculty and Power of Understanding is communicated to every Man in equal Proportions. They admit a very great Inequality; from whence that Ancient and Noble Aphorism became so usual in the Mouth of Philosophers, That *the acting Intellect is given to very few*; and this very Inequality they make use of, as an Argument to prove that Science does not proceed from Sense; since it is very manifest, according to what hath been urged already, that They who are most advantageously provided for in point of Sense, are oftentimes least so in point of Learning and Wisdom.

As to the Second Part of the Objection, That these Functions are not always perform'd alike ; The true Reason of this is certainly, The different Condition of those Instruments, which the Soul hath absolute occasion for, and constantly works by ; for These neither are, nor can be at all times in the same Order and Disposition. Sometimes they are disturbed so as to be fit for no Business at all : And when they are not put out of their Course, by any accidental Interruption, yet, even in their Natural State, they are not qualify'd for all Business alike ; nay, they act in perfect Contrariety, and cross, and interfere with one another. To express this now in as few Words, and as clearly as the Thing will bear :

That *Temperament of the Brain*, which you have heard so much of already, is the next and immediate Instrument, by which the Soul is assisted and determin'd in her Actings. Now This is exceeding various and mutable ; and at those Seasons when it serves well for one Function of the Soul, it obstructs and runs counter to another. In *Youth* it is *Hot* and *Moist* ; and this Complication is extremely proper for strengthening the Vegetative Faculty ; but it keeps the Rational one Weak and Low. On the other hand it is *Cold* and *Dry* in *Aged People* ; and This is a convenient Temper for the Reasonable Soul, but highly prejudicial, and improper for the Vegetative. When this Temperament of the Brain is soundly heated and refin'd by a high Fever, it is then accommodated to the Imaginative Faculty, and does Wonders in Invention and Fancy ; but this very Condition disables the Intellectual Faculty, and is the most opposite that can be, to *Mature Deliberation*, and sound Wisdom and Judgment.

It is no part of my Intention, by all this Discourse, to defraud the *Senses* of any part of the Com-

Commendation, which is their just due ; but only to prevent their ingrossing All, and assuming more than their due. 'Tis confess'd, that the *Mind* reaps great Advantage, and is very conveniently served by the *Senses*; especially in the beginning of its Contemplations, the first Hints and Occasions, the Invention and new Discoveries of Things. But still we affirm, in vindication of the Mind's just Rights, that it does not depend upon the Senses entirely ; that it is capable of Knowledge and Understanding ; can reason and discuss Matters, infer and conclude, without the Senses : Whereas, on the contrary, all Knowledge proceeds from the Mind ; and the Senses, when left to themselves, cannot make the least Progress, nor have one single Perception without it.

12. It is farther observable, that the *Mind* proceeds in different Methods, and makes regular and gradual Advances in the Consideration of Things. Sometimes it proceeds by the Addition and Conjunction of Idea's : As first it conceives a *Lion* simply and directly, without attending to any of his Qualities : Then it adds the Idea of *Strength* to the former ; and so having from some Effects had reason to believe that these will agree well together, and be true of each other, it concludes, that the *Lion* is *Strong*. This is what they call the *Affirmative* way of Arguing. Sometimes it proceeds by the Division of Idea's, which is what they term the *Negative* way. Thus it understands the *Hare* to be *Fearful* ; for observing her to run away and hide her self, it concludes from this Timorous Behaviour, that a *Hare* is not *Stout*. Sometimes again we come to the Knowledge of Things by Similitude, and the help of Comparison ; and of Others by a Collection of several Idea's, Exaggerating and Amplifying these as we see fit. Other Methods there are, which need not be instanced

stanced in particularly, because any Man, from his own Observation, and what hath been already deliver'd here, may easily represent the manner of them to himself.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Parts of the Humane Soul : And first, of the Understanding, which is its noblest Function ; Imagination, Reason, Wit, Judgment, &c.

THIS *Mind of Man* is a dark and deep Abyfs, an intricate Labyrinth, full of Corners and Creeks, and secret lurking Places : Such is the Disposition and State of this exalted Part of the Soul, distinguish'd by the Term of *Intellectual*, which consists of vastly many Parts, and Faculties, and Operations, and different Movements ; each of which have their proper Names, and each of them infinite Doubts and Difficulties peculiar to them.

The First Part of its Office is commonly known by the Name of *Apprehension* or *Imagination* ; and this consists in barely receiving and apprehending Images and simple Ideas ; which is, indeed, in the Nature of a Passion and Impression, occasion'd by the Presence of Things that strike upon, or are represented to it.

The next is that Power by which we feed upon those Ideas, to which the Imagination hath given such Entertainment ; we handle and turn them about, chew the Cud, concoct and digest them ; and this is *Reason*, or λόγος.

3. The Third Action or Office, is what we commonly term *Discourse* or *Ratiocination* (λογισμὸς, διάνοια, because διὰ νοῦν) And the Exercise of this Power consists in collecting or separating ; joynning together, or taking asunder the Ideas thus received ; and, according as those are found to agree or disagree, adding some fresh to them, which is the Nature of Inferences and Conclusions.
4. The Doing all this with Ease, Nicety, and Readiness, searching deeper, and seeing farther into Matters than the World commonly do, is an Excellence known by the Name of *Penetration*, or *Sagacity* ; (*Ingenium*) and the Persons happy in it, are distinguish'd by the Titles of *Ingenious*, shrewd, sharp Men, Persons of good Parts, good Sense, and the like.
5. The bringing Things over again, allowing them a Second Thought, and applying the Touch-stone to them over and over, that our Disquisition may be as curious and elaborate as possible, and nothing may pass, but what we are well assur'd is true Standard ; this is *Judgment* ; and its Business is to go upon sure Grounds, and come to no Resolutions, but such as one may abide by.
6. The Effect, Lastly, of the *Understanding*, thus exercised is, as you perceive, *Knowledge*, *Speculative Wisdom*, and *Resolution*.
7. The Action, which follows next, and is a Natural Consequence of such Knowledge and Resolution, is that of the *Will*, or *Volition* ; by which the Mind reaches forward, and makes some Advances, towards the Object so known.
8. Now from hence, I think, it follows, that the *Essence* of all these Things is the same ; and the Operations of them only are different. That is, *Understanding*, and *Imagination*, and *Reason*, and *Discourse*, and *Penetration*, and *Judgment*, and *Wisdom*, and *Resolution*, are only so many several

veral Methods, by which the same Mind moves and exerts it self. And accordingly we find some Persons better disposed to one of these Ways, than they are to others; a Man, for Instance, shall be excellent for Quickness and *Readiness of Wit*, and yet very weak and childish with respect to his *Judgment*. Every Man hath all these Powers inherent in his Mind; but every Man hath them not alike, nor is alike qualify'd for the Exercise of them all.

I am well enough content to hear the Characters and lofty Commendations of the Soul of Man; and take great Delight in the Account of its Comprehension, and Sprightliness, and vast Abilities. I allow it be called the *Image of the Living God*; a Drop of the Fountain of Immortality, an Efflux of the Divinity, a Beam of Heavenly Light; That the Great Creator hath furnished it with Reason, by which, as by a living Rudder, this Vessel may steer its Course regularly; That it is an Instrument most exquisitely Harmonious; That by it we contract a great Resemblance, and have the Honour of being near of Kin to God; and that therefore he hath so disposed the Seat and Situation of this Mind, that it should be in a perpetual Disposition of looking upward, to the Place of its Birth. In a Word, I agree, that there is nothing in this lower World truly Great, but only *Man*; and nothing truly Noble in Man but his *Mind*; that if you come up to the utmost Height of this, you have climb'd higher than the very Heavens themselves: These Characters I consent to very heartily, and they are such as the Schools, and Chairs of Philosophers and Divines, have commonly abounded in; with a Design to render Men duly sensible of the Dignity of their Nature, and to teach them not debase or undervalue themselves.

2.
Description
of the
Mind.
Its Advan-
tage.

2.
Its Disad-
vantages.

All This, I say, is admitted ; but still with this Proviso, that Men wou'd apply themselves withal, to examine, and come to a more distinct Knowledge of This *Soul* of ours. For upon a more intimate Acquaintance, we shall find, that it is capable of being made, and (as the Matter is commonly order'd) does actually prove an Instrument of much Danger and Mischief to ones self and others ; a terrible Disturber of the Publick Peace ; which, like a common Jugler, with his Legerdemain, amuses you with Slight of Hand ; and waits all Opportunities of putting the Cheat upon you. For in Truth, all the Falsehood, and Forgery, and Mischief, that the World labours under, are owing purely to This, and have no other Original.

3.
Different
sorts of
Souls.

The *Bodies* of Men, as infinitely various as we see them, are yet less different from one another than their Souls are : In general, They may properly enough be reduc'd into Three Classes ; each of which is capable of being sub-divided again, and hath several Distinctions and Degrees comprehend-ed under it. The *Lowest* of these are poor and *weak Souls*, not much removed from that of Brutes. And this Defect may be caused sometimes from the Faults and Imperfections of the Natural Constitution ; too great a Predominance of Cold and Moisture in the Temperament of the Brain ; as Fishes, whose Composition is of this kind, are reckon'd the lowest and most wanting of all other Animals : This Infirmary is born with us, and deriv'd from our Parents. Sometimes it is chargeable upon accidental Failings afterwards : Want of due Care to awaken and exert the Natural Powers, and letting them rust upon our Hands, till they degenerate into Senselessness and Stupidity ; Of these we can make no certain Account, nor can they be esteemed a certain Species ; For in Truth, they are not in a Condition to govern

vern themselves as Men, but are Minors and Ignorants all their Days, and ought to be constantly kept under the Tuition and Care of others, wiser than themselves. * They snore and nod with their Eyes open ; and, while they seem to live and act, are dead in the very midst of Life ; Moving Carcasses, and Men that walk in their Sleep. Such are the *Boors* and Common People, without Sense, without Apprehension, without Judgment. The *Uppermost* Class are those Elevated, and singularly Excellent Souls, that seem rather to be Angels and Demi-Gods than Common and Mortal Men ; Strong and Vigorous, and every way Accomplish'd ; These are conspicuous and admirable indeed, but so rare and few withal, that if we could bring all of them together that ever the World knew, this long and numerous Succession could not furnish enough to compose one Common-wealth. The *Middle Sort* is infinite in Partitions and Degrees, Men of moderate Endowments, refin'd from the Dregs, but still beneath the Cream and Flower of Humane Nature. And These take in much the greatest Part of Mankind. Of those Distinctions, there will come a more proper Time to treat more largely hereafter. In the mean while, we must try to give a more particular Description of this *Soul*, with regard to its Nature and Qualities, which yet are so intricate and manifold, that it is as hard to represent them truly, as it would be to draw a Picture like, from a Face that is always in Motion.

First of all ; We may observe, that it is perpetually in Action. The *Soul* indeed *cannot live idle*, §. for to be doing something is its very Essence ; and Its Description. hence it is, that for fear of lying quite unactive, A perpetual Agent. it employs it self in false and fantastical Imagina-

* Qui vigilans stertit.

Mortua cui vita est prope jam vivo atque videnti.

tions, forms a Thousand wild Ideas, will study to cheat and deceive it self, and go directly contrary to its own Knowledge and Persuasion, rather than be out of Business. Like Fallow and neglected Grounds, which must always be kept sown with some Grain or other, if the Soil be rich and fruitful ; otherwise they will provide themselves a Harvest, and put forth vast Crops of wild and noxious Weeds. Thus the *Mind*, if it be not set on Work, and kept close to some particular Subject, turns Vagabond, wanders and floats among a Thousand Whimsies ; there is nothing so Foolish, or so Extravagant, but it will produce it. And if it be not fix'd down, it is lost ; for to be every where, is in Truth to be no where. *Agitation* is, indeed, the very Life and Beauty of the Soul, but then this Agitation ought to be directed and prescribed ; found for it by another Hand, but by no means left to its own providing. Suffer it to go all alone, and on its own Head, it sanfers about and tires its self to no purpose ; languishes and grows feeble. And yet the other Extreme is every whit as dangerous ; for if you hold it too high, and lay too much upon it. This is keeping the Bow always bent. Constant intense Thought, is what cannot be born ; it strains and puts the Mind upon the Stretch, till at last it cracks and breaks it.

6.
An Uni-
versal
Agent.

This *Agent* is also *Universal*, and in at every Thing. No Subject whatsoever, no Topick is out of its Compass ; let the Farce be what it will, the Soul will have a Part in it, tho' it be never so low or so extravagant. The vaineft and most trifling Matter will serve its Turn to work upon, as well as that of the greatest Consequence and Weight ; Things which it knows not, nor hath any Comprehension of, as well as those, with which it is never so well acquainted. For even the being made sensible, that it is out of a Man's Power to enter
dear

deep, and search Things to the Bottom, and that in many (in most Cases indeed) all the Knowledge we can have is merely superficial, and goes no farther than just the Shell, and Out-side of Things ; The very Coming to this Sense, I say, is a very brave and bold Stroke, and argues a Masterly Judgment. *Learning*, nay, *Truth* it self, may be found in a Man that wants *Judgment*, and many may have a good Judgment too, who are unskill'd in *Learning* and *Books*, and under some Mistakes, as to particular Opinions. But for a Man to see, and to acknowledge his own Ignorance and Personal Defects ; to pretend to no more than he really hath, and is ; this single Quality argues so much Judgment, that there are few better Testimonies to be given of it.

A Third Character very considerable in this Agent, is the *Nimbleness* of its *Motions* ; whereby it traverses the whole World, and runs from the one End of it to the other, in a Moment of Time ; never standing still, never at rest ; but fluttering about, and peeping and meddling every where.

7.
Ready and quick in its Motions.

* *Man is endu'd with a busy, active, Mind ; that never keeps at home ; but expands and dilates it self ; wanders every where, cannot bear any Rest, and is never so agreeably entertain'd as with Novelties, and fresh Objects. Nor is it strange ; For this Mind of ours is descended from that Cœlestial Spirit above ; and Motion, we know, is so natural there, that the Heavenly Beings, are never out of it. This mighty Quickness and Agility must be confess'd in one respect prodigious, and one of the most miraculous Qualifications belonging to the Soul. But on the o-*

* *Mobilis & inquieta mens homini data est ; nunquam se tenet ; Spargitur vaga, quietis impatiens, novitate rerum lætissima ; Non mirum ex illo cœlesti spiritu descendit. Cœlestium autem natura semper in motu est.*

ther hand, it is very dangerous too ; for Spirits so exceeding subtle and refin'd, are liable to great Inconveniences ; and an Excellence of this kind is observed to be a mighty Disposition to Folly, and borders hard upon *Madness*, as you will hear by and by.

Upon the Consideration of these Three Qualities it is that the Arguments for the *Immortality of the Soul* are usually grounded. Since *Matter* (which is corruptible by Nature) hath none of these ; and what is not Material, no Reason in Philosophy can evince to be Mortal. Now an Agent in *perpetual Motion* is very distant from Matter, to which *Rest* seems natural, since it neither does, nor ever can move it self. An unlimited and universal Agent differs extremely from Matter, which is cramp'd and confin'd in all its Operations, and proper only for One, or a Few ; but always the same Matter can serve only some and the same determinate Uses : And That again which is sudden and instantaneous, which is bounded by no Time, no Place, but carries its Thoughts to the most distant Objects with equal Swiftnefs as to those that are nearest : This sure is most contrary to *Matter*, whose Motions are local and gradual, bound up by necessary Laws, and proportion'd by the respective Distances of the several Objects. Consequently This *Mind* is something above *Matter* and *Mortality*, a *Spark of Divine Fire*, and the express Image of that Active and Omnipresent Spirit, which we call G O D.

8. *Its Employment.* Now the Trade and constant Employment of this Soul, is to be perpetually upon the Seek, ferretting, and doubling, and hot in the Pursuit of Knowledge, as of its proper Food. This *Appetite* and Hunger for the *Truth*, makes Men eternally prying, and curious, and inquisitive ; which made the *Greek Poets* call Men *άλκοντες*, a sort of Creature

ture, whose Thoughts and Inventions are always at work. Nor is there any End of our Enquiries; for they are circumscrib'd within no Bounds, nor regulated by any Forms and Measures. Doubts and Difficulties are the Sustenance we live upon; and the Principle within us is a *perpetual Motion*. The whole World is our School, and our Theme, and, which is particular to the Case now before us, *We labour for Labour's sake*; The Chase and Pursuit is not so much our Toil, or our Diversion, as it is our Game and our Prey: For the succeeding, or not succeeding in our Disquisition, is a Thing of another and very different Consideration.

But still, in the midst of all this busy Curiosity, it is rash, tumultuous, and disorderly, observes no certain Rules and Measures, but is eternally roving, and variable, and inconsistent with it self: 'Tis a perfect Nose of Wax, that bends every way, stretches it self to any length, is accommodated to all Forms, more subtle and yielding than Water or Air. * Thus justifying the Character given of it, that as a Spirit is more refin'd and subtle, so it is likewise more flexible and yielding than any the thinnest Matter whatsoever. Of this *Itheramenes's* Shooe was the true Emblem, which fitted Feet of all Sizes. All it is at a loss for is, only for some Contrivance how to turn and change with some Appearance of Probability; for when This is once found, it moves every way, takes all sides, crosses and contradicts it self, and argues for Truth or Falshood indifferently.

Thus *Reason* sports wantonly, and invents or entertains Arguments for the widest and most di-

* *Flexibili omni humore obsequentior, & ut Spiritus, qui omni Materiâ facilior, ut tenuior.*

stant Contrarieties. Nothing so extravagant, nothing so absurd, but hath found its Assertors and Abettors : And this not only in the fanciful Conceits of private Persons, but in the more general Sense and Agreement of large Societies and Communities. Thus *History* tells us, that what is detested as Impious, Unjust, and Unnatural in one Country, has been receiv'd with Veneration, and practis'd as highly Decent, and a Duty, nay, even esteem'd an Act of Religion in another. And there are not many Laws, or Customs, or Opinions, which we can say, have universally obtain'd, or have been every where rejected. The *Marriages of near Relations* Some condemn as Incestuous ; but Others have not only allow'd, but recommended, nay, in some Cases even enjoyn'd them. The *Murdering of Infants*, and of *Parents, when old and decrepid*, and the *having Wives in common*, are now, and in our Parts of the World, look'd upon as barbarous and execrable ; but the Worshipers of *Moloch*, we know, thought their Children the most acceptable Sacrifice ; and if *Herodotus*, and some other Historians, say true, the *Scythians* thought the other not only innocent, but a Mark of Tenderness and Respect ; and never pretended to any Propriety in a Marriage-Bed. When *Dionysius* offer'd *Plato* a rich Embroider'd Robe, he refus'd it, with this Reason for his Denial, That it was not fit for a Man to be so effeminately clothed ; And yet *Aristippus*, another Philosopher, accepted it ; and he had his Reason for That too, which was, That no External Habit cou'd corrupt the Mind ; and that the Soul might still be Masculine and Chaste, tho' the Body were attir'd in Clothes never so Soft and Effeminate. The *Dialogue* between this last Philosopher and *Diogenes*, each vindicating his own manner of Living, and reflecting upon the other's that

that differ'd from him, is thus represented by *Horace* *,

Diog. If *Aristippus* patiently cou'd dine
On Herbs, he wou'd the Courts of Kings decline.

Arist. If he that censures me, knew how to use
The Courts of Kings, he wou'd his Herbs refuse.

Creech,
Epist.
XVII.

When *Solon* was Mourning, and full of Lamentation for the death of his Son, a Friend advised him to moderate his Passion, since Tears upon that Occasion are unprofitable, and to no purpose; That very Consideration, says *Solon*, excuses my Excess of Grief; for what can justify a Man's Concern, what can provoke Tears so much as the Thought that all our Sorrow is Fruitless and Vain? *Socrates* his Wife pretended this Aggravation of her Grief, that the Judges had condemn'd him unjustly: Nay, sure, (reply'd he) if a Man must suffer, it is infinitely more eligible to die Innocent, than to deserve Condemnation. One Philosopher tells you, That a Man is truly possess'd of nothing which he is not prepared to lose. † *For the Fear that a thing may be lost, is a Passion every whit as tormenting as the Concern for it when actually lost.* Another, who passes for as wise a Man as He, comes and tells you quite contrary; That the Uncertainty of what we have, and the Apprehension of its being taken away from us, heightens and gives a Relish to our Enjoyments, by disposing us to hold the Blessings faster and closer to our Hearts, and rendring us more affectionate and tender of them. A Cynick beg-

* Si pranderet olus patienter, Regibus uti
Nollet Aristippus. Si sciret Regibus uti,
Fastidiret olus, qui me notat —

† In æquo enim est Dolor amissæ rei, & Timor amittendæ.
ged

ged of *Antigonus*, that he wou'd bestow a *Drachm* of Silver upon him ; No, says the King, so small a Thing is not a Present fit for a Prince to give : Then, Sir, be pleased to give me a *Talent* : Nor that neither, says *Antigonus* ; For a Talent is a Summ as much too great for a Philosopher to receive. A certain Person was extolling a King of *Sparta* for his exceeding great *Goodness* and *Clemency* ; and the Instance he gave of it, was, That he was kind even to the Wicked and Unworthy : And this argu'd a great Degree of Goodness in him. So far from that, says another, that according to this Account he is no good Man, for no Prince can be so, who is not severe to the Wicked. Thus you may observe, how many different Faces *Reason* puts on, and what a *Two-edg'd Sword* it is, which with dextrous Management will cut both ways. * *Every Medal hath its Reverse*, says the Proverb. There is nothing said, but hath somewhat to be said against it, says the soundest Philosophy ; and a Man might demonstrate the Truth of it upon any Subject in the World.

II.

Now this great Variety and Flexibility may be imputed to several Causes : It may come from that perpetual Flux of Humours, and variable Constitution of the Body, which is so great, so constant, that a Man is never exactly the same in this respect at any two times of his whole Life. It may be charg'd upon that infinite Variety of Objects that offer themselves to his Contemplation ; It may proceed from the Temper of the Air, the Difference of Weather, of Climates and Seasons ; for, as was observ'd before,

* Ogni Medaglia ha il suo riverfo.

† *In each Man's Breast that Weathercock, the Mind,
Moves with the Rack, and shifts with every Wind.*

And a Thousand other external Causes may contribute to it. But if we come nearer home, and look within, much may be laid upon the several sorts of Motion, which the Mind is put into, both by its own natural and constant Agitation, and by the different Impressions, which the Passions make upon it. Much also may be argu'd from the different Manner of the Object's being represented to it, according to the different Prospects taken of them: For in this respect it happens to the *Eye* of the *Mind*, as it does to that of the *Body*, that no two Persons see the same thing exactly, and in all respects alike. Their Situation, their Organs, and infinite other little unobserv'd Accidents there are, that make some, though perhaps not so great a Diversity as to be discern'd in the Act of Vision. Besides, every thing we know hath different Glosses and Faces, and is capable of being consider'd under different respects; which was *Epictetus's* meaning, when he said, *That every thing hath two* (he might very truly have said a great many) *Handles*. “ But after all, nothing
“ adds more to this Ambiguity, and variety of
“ Opinions, than that *Spirit* of *Contradiction* and
“ *Dispute*, and a vain Affectation of *Wit*, general-
“ ly predominant in the World, which lets no-
“ thing pass quietly in Conversation; and accounts
“ it a Reflexion upon one's Parts, not to have
“ somewhat to say by way of Repartee and Ob-
“ jection, though never so contrary to Truth, and
“ sometimes even to the Persons own Judgment

† *Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Jupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.*

“ too. And hence it is frequent for such People
 “ to take contrary Sides ; for their Business is not
 “ so much to advance an Opinion, or to urge
 “ what is really Argument and good Sense, as
 “ to shew their Talent in opposing what any Bo-
 “ dy else shall say.

12.

From hence it comes to pass, that the Mind ob-
 structs it self in its Business, like Silk-worms that
 are intangled in Webs of their own spinning :
 For while it reaches forward, and expects to at-
 tain some distant Truth, and is led on in this
 Hope by I know not what imaginary Probabili-
 ties ; in the midst of his Course, up start some
 fresh Difficulties, and these multiply and cross the
 way upon the Man, and so by putting him upon
 a new Scent, carry him off from his first Design,
 till he is quite intoxicated, and bewildred in the
 Maze of his own Thoughts.

13.

*Truth, its
 End, but
 not attain-
 able.*

The End of all this anxious Pursuit is two-fold ;
 That which is more general, and more natural in-
 deed, is *Truth* : For of all the Desires that we feel
 our selves moved with, there is not any of them
 more closely interwoven with our Nature, than
 the Desire of *Truth* : It is with great Eagerness
 and Diligence that we try all the Means capa-
 ble of leading us to the Knowledge of it ; but
 alas ! our utmost Attempts are short and insuffi-
 cient ; for Absolute Certainty is not a Prize allotted
 to us ; nor does it condescend to be taken, and
 possessed by any the most assiduous Humane Soul.
*Truth lodges in the Bosom of God ; there is its Re-
 treat and proper Apartment ; Men understand not
 any thing in its utmost Perfection ; We know in part,
 and here we see through a Glass darkly, says the Foun-
 tain of all Truth. We turn and tumble Objects
 about, and grope like Men in the Dark for pro-
 bable Reasons ; but these are to be found every
 where ; and Falshood as well as Truth hath some-
 what*

what to be alledg'd in its behalf. We are born indeed to search and seek for *Truth*, but the Enjoyment of it seems to be a Blessing reserv'd for some greater and more exalted Powers than any that Mortals are endu'd with. "That is the Happiness of Beings above us at present, and is reserv'd for Mankind in a future State, till he be purify'd from the Dross of Matter, and Flesh, and Infirmary; and the Clouds that now hang before us, and dim our Sight, be scatter'd by clear and everlasting Day. At present the Difference between one Man and another, is not who reaches the Goal, and gains the Prize, and who not; but who is distanced, and who not; who runs best, and makes the nearest Approaches to that which none of us All can come up to. If at any time it happens that a Man in the study of Nature fixes upon Truth, This is more by a lucky Hit than otherwise; and his good Fortune is to be extoll'd as much as his Industry; and when he hath it, 'tis odds if he can keep it; for many times a Man suffers it to be wrested out of his Hands again by Sophisms, and Delusions, and contrary Appearances, for want of being Master of his Point, and able to distinguish Truth from Falshood, and Reality from the Counterfeit. Errours are entertain'd by the same way that Truth is; the Passage by which both enter our Souls, is one and the same; the Methods made use of for discovering it, are *Reason* and *Experience*: And both These are extremely weak and defective, floating and uncertain, hard to fix, and changeable upon every flight Occasion, when we think they are fixed. The great Argument of Truth is that of *Universal Consent*. But what will all this amount to, when a Man hath consider'd, what a vast Majority of Fools there are, and how very few wise Men in the World? And again,

To

To any one that observes how Opinions spread, and become general : Men take them from one another, as they do *Diseases*, by *Infection* : And *Applause* is that Breath that corrupts the Air, and bears about the Venom : This Applause again is given commonly blindly and inconsiderately, by them who never examine into the true Merits of the Cause ; and by them too, who if they do pretend to examine, are not capable of judging in the Case. And thus, when some few have begun the Dance, the rest have nothing to do but to fall in with the Tune, and follow them that lead it up of Course.

14.
Invention.

The other End aim'd at by the Mind, is *Invention* ; which if it have less of Nature, yet hath more of Ambition and bold Pretension in it : This is aspir'd to, as its highest Point of Honour, that which makes most Shew to the World, and contributes most to its Reputation ; That which it looks big with, and thinks the liveliest Image of the Divine Nature : It is this particular Accomplishment, to which all those noble Works have owed their Original, which have fill'd the World with Transport and Wonder. And those that have been of Publick Use among them, have even Deify'd their Authors, and Immortaliz'd their Names. What Renown have some gain'd, that were mere Curiosities, only for being eminent in their Kind, though no Benefit at all accrued to Mankind by their means ? Such as *Zeuxis's Vine*, *Apelles's Venus*, *Memnon's Statue* ; the *Colosse* at *Rhodes*, *Archytas's Wooden Pigeon*, the *Sphere* of *Sapores King of Persia*, and infinite others. Now the Excellence of Art and Invention seems to consist not only in a good Imitation of Nature, but in outdoing it. This often happens in particular Instances ; for no Man nor Beast seems ever to have been so exquisitely formed

formed in all its Parts, nor the Proportions of any one and the same Body, to have met together of Nature's Composition, so exact as these Artists have delineated and represented them in Their Pieces. There are likewise several *Improvements* and Exaltations of *Nature*, in producing and compounding those Things by *Art*, which Nature alone never produces. This is plain from the Mixtures of Simples and Ingredients, which is the proper Business for Art to exercise it self in ; the Extraction of Spirits and Oyls, and Distillation of Waters, and compounding of Medicines more refin'd, more powerful and efficacious, than any Nature furnishes us with. And yet after all, These Things are not so wonderful, nor do they commend Humane Wisdom and Industry so highly, as the Generality of the World are apt to imagine : For, if we will pass that Judgment in this Matter, which is agreeable to Truth and Duty, and pay a just Deference and Acknowledgement to the First Author, These are but *Imitations*, and not properly *Inventions* ; They are Improvements, but they only promote and perfect what God hath first revealed. And what we commonly value and extol as our own Original Contrivance, is nothing more than observing the Works of Nature, arguing and concluding from what we find there, and then reducing those Observations into Practice. Thus *Painting* and *Opticks* were first rude and imperfect Hints, taken from Shades ; and the Perfection they are now in, consists only in a due, and proper, and beautiful Mixture of Colours, which makes those Shades. The *Art of Dialling* comes from the Shadows cast by Trees ; and what they do in our Fields, we do upon our Planes ; They are Nature's Measure of the Sun's Motion, and the Gnomon is Ours. *Sculpture*, and Engraving of Seals, and Characters, and
L Cyphers,

Cyphers, seems to be derived from the particular Marks, and Figures, and Embossings found in Precious Stones. And if This be allowed, the result of all our Boasts is very poor ; for it all terminates here, That Man (in Truth, and strictly speaking) hath invented nothing, but God and Nature give the Hints and first Draughts of all, and We improve, and, by degrees, refine upon them.

15.
The Dan-
gers it ex-
poses us to.

If all that went before be true, we easily perceive to what Rashness and Error the Mind of Man is subject, and how great the Dangers are which it exposes every one of us to ; but those Men above all the rest, in whom it is more sprightly and vigorous than ordinary : For, since the Nature of it is perpetual Agitation, since its Motions are so free and unconstrain'd, and since all kind of Objects fall within its Contemplation ; since it refuses to be bound up, or directed by any certain Forms and Measures ; and upon all Occasions is so bold in the Use of its Native Liberty, without submitting to be captivated and controuled by any thing : The common and natural Effect of this is, to shake and disettle Opinions generally receiv'd, and already establish'd, and to complain of all those Rules by which Men endeavour to regulate and restrain it, and check those Extravagances which some Men call *Free-Thinking*, as an unjust Tyranny and Usurpation upon Nature, and a Yoke which every Man hath a right to break. Hence it pretends a Privilege of taking nothing for granted, but assumes a Power of examining every thing ; and pronounces the greatest part of those *Notions* which are entertain'd and approv'd by the Generality of the World, to be no better than *Vulgar Errors*, ridiculous and absurd Prepossessions. It finds some appearance

pearance of Reason on every side ; and because nothing above a bare Probability is to be found, it believes nothing certain. Some Notions may have more, and some less ; but all have some Allegations in their Favour : And by indulging these sorts of Ambiguities, it is to be fear'd, that at last Men are lost in a Labyrinth, give all up, and sit down in *Doubt* and *Scepticism*. That thus it often hath happen'd is too manifest ; and as evident, that this is commonly the Disease of warm and witty Men, who trust to their own Sufficiency, and have brisker Parts than their Neighbours ; (such as, Part. II. according to our former Scheme, may deserve a Place toward the upper Part of the middle Class of Souls. For such as these, we commonly find by Experience, are more loose in their Principles, more particular in their Opinions, more extravagant and disorderly in their Manners, than any other sort of Men whatsoever. There are but very few of this Constitution, fit to be left to their own Conduct ; or who know how to manage their Abilities to their own Safety and Advantage, and how to let their Judgments run beyond the common establish'd Opinions, without plunging out of their Depth, and paying dear for their Rashness. A great and sprightly Wit, well temper'd with Solidity and Discretion, is now so hard to be found, that it is almost a Miracle among Men. For this is an Edged-Tool, and apt to do great Mischief, if it be not in a very Wise Man's Hand : 'Tis like a nimble Sayler without Balast, whose Swiftnefs does but hasten its Ruine, and drive it so much the sooner upon Rocks and Shelves. And if History be enquir'd into, all the Disorders in the State, Heresies in the Church, Revolts in Armies, Parties and Factions of every kind, will be generally found to have taken their Rise

from such Authors as These. * *Great Errors* (says one) *have never sprung from any but great Wits; Nothing is more prejudicial, more detestable to true Wisdom, than too much Smartness of Parts.* No doubt, That Man hath a better Time on't, lives longer, enjoys more Ease and Happiness, and is better qualify'd for Government, (says *Thucydides*) who is but moderately, or not so much as moderately, provided in Point of Natural Parts, than He, who hath a very Noble and Transcendent Elevation of Soul: For This Temper commonly is good for nothing, but to create Trouble and Torment, and never let one's self, or others, live in quiet. It is observable, that the dearest Friends, when they fall out, make the bitterest and most irreconcilable Enemies: And that the soundest Health, and most vigorous Constitutions, are subject to the acutest and most mortal Diseases; and our Minds do so far sympathize with our Bodies, that Those of them, whose Operations are more quick and subtle than ordinary, are of all others most exquisite in their Follies, and have the strongest Propension to Madness and Extravagance. Wisdom and Folly may be said to dwell pretty near one another; there is but a short Turn between them; the Behaviour of distracted People plainly shews it. Philosophy tells us the same Predominance of Humours disposes to both; for each abounds in Melancholy. And sure there is no Folly comparable to That which we find is the Effect of nice and subtle Wisdom. This mov'd *Aristotle* to affirm, That *Nature never made a great Soul without an Allay of Folly*; and *Plato* upon the same Account declar'd, That it was a vain Attempt for a Man of good Judgment and sound Sense to knock at the Door of Poetry;

* Magni errores non nisi ex magnis ingeniis; nihil Sapientie odiosis acumine nimio.

That was not a Place for such as him to be admitted into ; The Solidity of his Judgment wou'd hinder the Soaring of his Fancy. And upon this Consideration it is, that the most skilful and celebrated Poets have not always thought it necessary to submit to Rules, but approve of extravagant Flights, and the giving one's self a Loose now and then. Thus we may understand those known Sayings * *It is pleasant to fly out. 'Tis decent sometimes to be vain. While the Mind continues it self, its Performances are mean : Great and Noble Thoughts require a vehement Agitation to give them Birth.*

Creech, ' Hor. Ode XII. Lib. IV.

Upon this account, They were certainly in the right, who have set strong *Barriers and Boundaries about the Soul.* The Necessity of curbing and fettering it with all manner of Restraints, with the Articles and Precepts of Religion, with the Authority of Laws and Customs, the Rules and Sciences of Learning, the Promises of Reward and Threatnings both in This and a Future State ; This Necessity, I say, hath been well consider'd both by God and Man ; and great indeed it is ; for notwithstanding all these Checks, the Soul hath its Frolicks and Flyings-out still ; and in these Humours, it leaps over, and bursts thro' all ; so exceeding fierce and intractable, so head-strong and self-conceited is it naturally : And therefore Art must manage, and make it tame, for Force is to no purpose at all. † *The Mind of Man (says Seneca) is naturally stiff and rebellious, continually bending the wrong way, and bearing hard upon the Bit ; and is easier led than driven, as high-mettled Horses are*

16.

The necessity of restraining it.

* *Infanire jucundum est. Dulce est desipere in loco. Non potest grande & sublime quicquam nisi mota mens, & quamdiu apud se est.*

† *Naturâ contumax est Animus humanus, in contrarium atque arduum nitens ; sequiturque facilius quam ducitur, ut generosi & nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.*

better ridden with a Snaffle than with a Curb. It is a much safer Course to keep it under the Custody of a Guardian, to sooth and gently lay this indiscreet Minor asleep, than to let him have his Head, and ramble abroad at his own Pleasure, and go his own Pace. For, if the Mind be not very regular and prudent, as well as very lively and strong, (the Conjunction of which Qualities make that happy Disposition of Souls, of the first and highest Order) or if it be not weak, and tender, and somewhat dull of Apprehension, (which were said to be the Characters of the last and lowest Set) there is great hazard of its losing and ruining it self, by the Freedom it takes of examining and judging Things, and submitting to no Prescription or Authority. And therefore very expedient it is, that it shou'd be put under some Confinement; and if it go abroad, that it be duly and conveniently equipp'd: For there is greater need of a Clog than of Wings; and of a streight Rein, than of a Spur: The Advice of *Phæbus* to his Son;

** Son, spare the Whip, and strongly use the Rein;
They of their own accord will run too fast,
'Tis hard to moderate their flying Haste.*

That Advice is necessary here too; otherwise This, like another *Phaeton*, and his Steeds ungovern'd, wou'd set the World on Fire. The Prevention of that Inconvenience, is what hath been chiefly aim'd at by all those Great Men, who have either modell'd Mankind into particular Societies at first, or devis'd Laws for them ever since. And this sort of Men are the very Persons, with whom both the Founders and the Governors of States

** Parce puer Stimulis, & fortius utere Loris. — Ovid.*

have been most of all perplex'd. For the Common People, and those of meaner Capacities, are generally more peaceably disposed, than those whom *Wit* and *Parts* make thoughtful and busy, and consequently factious and troublesome. The general Genius of a People is very remarkable to this purpose; for in the single City of *Florence*, who are a Sharp-witted People, there have been more Seditions, and Civil Confusions, within the Compass of Ten Years, than have been known among all the honest dull *Suisses* and *Grisons* for above Five hundred Years together. And just so it is with particular Persons in the same Community: They that have but a bare Competency of Understanding, are generally the honestest Men, the best Subjects; more flexible and tractable, more contented to submit to the Laws, to be commanded by their Superiors, to hearken to Reason, and be govern'd by it, than these brisk and discerning Sparks, whose Parts and Penetration are above being controul'd by Power or Persuasion, and put them upon new Hazards and Projects, and will not let them content themselves with their own Business, and sleep in a whole Skin. So very wide a Difference there is between *Wit* and *Wisdom*.

The *Mind* hath likewise its *Defects*, *Decays*, and *Diseases*, as well as the *Body*, and indeed the Number of these is greater, the Consequence of them more dangerous, and the Cure of them more difficult and impracticable, than that of Bodily Distempers. For the better understanding of these, it is necessary to distinguish them into their several Sorts. Now some of these are purely Accidental, and fall upon it from outward Causes. Among which we may take notice of Three more especially.

17.
*The Defects
of the
Mind.*

The First is, *The State and Disposition of the Body. Accidental.*
For Diseases which make any Alteration in the

From the
Body.

Temperament of the Body, do manifestly carry their Influence farther, and produce a mighty Alteration in the Mind, and impair the Judgment at the same time. Sometimes the Substance of the Brain is not of a good Composition, and so the Organs of the Soul are not in a Condition to do their Duty. And this again happens either from a Fault in the first Formation, as in Them who have an ill-shap'd Head, too little, or too round; or else from some accidental Hurts afterwards, as many have suffer'd extremely in their Reason and Memory, by Falls, and Blows, and Wounds upon their Head.

Prejudi-
cate Opi-
nions.

For the Second Cause of these Defects, we may assign that *Universal Infection of common and popular Opinions entertain'd in the World*; With which the Mind is tinctur'd early, and these take Possession, and usually keep it obstinately. Or, which is yet worse, sometimes wild and fantastical Delusions have been drunk in, and with these the Mind is so strongly season'd, so grossly cheated, that They are not only not dismiss'd, but made the Rule of our Judgments, and the Measure of Truth in other Cases. All is brought to this Standard; and receiv'd or rejected as it agrees or disagrees with it. Here the Man fixes his Foot, and will not be got one Step backward or forward. The Instances of this kind among the Vulgar are infinite; most of whom are guided by some fantastical Notion, some erroneous Conceit, that hath grown up, and is like to live and die with them. And, indeed, when these Fancies or Opinions are common, they are like a strong Torrent; Every Body hath not Force and Vigour of Mind enough to stem it, and keep himself from being carried down the Stream with his Neighbours.

Passions.

The Third, and That which sticks much the closest to it of all the rest, is the *Sickness and Corruption*

ruption of the Will, and the Inordinacy and Strength of the Passions. And in this Case, the Soul is a World turn'd upside-down. The *Will* is made by Nature to follow the Directions of the *Understanding*; This is its Guide to instruct; its Candle to give it Light; but when once the Strength of Passion hath corrupted, and, as it were, laid violent Hands upon the *Will*, then the *Will*, in like manner, corrupts, and commits a Violence upon the *Understanding*. And from this disorderly Procedure it is, that the greatest Part of our false Judgments grow. Envy and Malice, and Love, and Hatred, and Fear, make us see Things with other Eyes; and take them for what they really are not; and draw such Conclusions and Inferences from them, as they minister no just Ground for. From whence it is, that we so often are admonish'd, and do admonish others, *to judge without Passion*. This puts us upon all those base and black Interpretations, by which we labour to eclipse the virtuous Behaviour, and generous Actions of other Men; Hence we study and invent Causes and Intentions for them, and, of our own Malice, assign vain and wicked Motives and Occasions for what they do. This is a most abominable Vice, and an evident Proof of great Malignity in our Nature, and of a diseased Mind; There is no great matter of Wit or Judgment shewn in such Proceedings, but they betray a World of Baseness and Ill-Nature. For whence can all this Misconstruction spring, but either from that Envy, which our Neighbours Honour and Reputation provokes in us; or from a measuring of others by our selves, and so taking that for granted in Them, which we are conscious of in Our selves; or from a Weakness and Distemper in the Mind, which, like some Sicknesses in the Body, alters and vitiates the Palate, confounds and blinds the Sight, that we neither
see

see nor taste Things as they are ; and that Virtue, in its Native Purity and Lustre, is too strong for us to bear or conceive ? From the same Cause it is, that we are so officiously spiteful, in publishing other Mens Vices and Failings ; that we aggravate these beyond what they deserve, but take good Care to extenuate their Virtues as much ; hence from single Actions, and particular Circumstances, we draw general Inferences, and fix standing Characters upon Men ; Hence comes our Partiality in judging, and our Regards, not to the Thing, but the Person. If he be a Friend ; or of Our Opinion, or in Our Interest ; then all he does is justified or applauded, and every Thing becomes him ; and his very Vices are Virtues ; But if he be an Enemy, if he have disoblig'd us Personally, or be engag'd in a contrary Faction ; he is stark nought, and nothing is as it should be. Thus we are content to wrong and disgrace our Judgment, provided we may but gratify our Passions. But alas ! we are not come to the End, nor to the worst Part of it yet ; For most of the Impieties and Heresies, the Errors in Point of Belief, and Controversies of all sorts in Religion, if we examine them strictly, and trace them up to their first Head, will appear to be so many noisom Streams of this bitter Fountain ; a polluted and wicked Will, inordinate Passion and sensual Pleasure ; which by degrees bribes and debauches the Understanding, and wins it over to its own Side. *The People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play ;* As the Scripture observes of the Israelites Idolatry ; and St. Augustine very well to this purpose ; ** That when a Man feels an Error agreeable to him, he does not believe what is True, but what he would gladly have to be True.* Thus, by degrees, it hath come to pass, that the Wickednesses which at first

* Quod vult, non quod est, credit, qui cupit errare.

Lib. 2. de Civ. Dei.
were

were committed with many Doubts, and Misgivings, and great Reluctancies, have not only out-worn all Scruple in Time, but been asserted and maintained for Divine Truth, and Express Revelation. What was at first in the Sensual Appetite only, hath made its Way higher, and got the upper Hand of the Understanding; what was meerly Passion and Pleasure, hath been advanced into a Principle of Religion, and an Article of Faith. So dangerous a thing is it for any part of the Soul to be diseased; so strong the Infection, and so quickly does it spread from one Faculty to another. And thus you have had an Account, what those Three Causes of our Mental Defects, and the Errors in our Judgment are, which were said to be external and foreign to the Mind it self. For it appears, that the Understanding may be wanting or impaired, by Means of Sicknes or Bodily Indisposition, more especially any Disease or Hurt in the Head, or any inconvenient Shape of the Skull. From the prejudicate Opinions of the World, and taking up groundless Whimsies for measur'd and certain Truths. And lastly, from any Disorder in the other Faculties of the Rational Soul; which are plac'd below, and ought by Nature to be under the Governance of the Mind. Those whose Failings proceed from the first of these Causes, deserve our Pity, not our Censure or Blame; and of them some are curable, and others incurable. The Second are not wholly Innocent but yet Faulty in such a Degree, that we may pardon, and excuse them. But the Third sort are altogether guilty. They deserve both Censure and Punishment, for suffering the Order of their Creation to be so inverted, that those which were born Subjects, and ought to submit, should usurp the Throne, and presume to give Laws to their Natural Sovereign.

But

16.
Its Natu-
ral Defects.

But, besides these outward and accidental Failings, there are others, Natural and Internal, such as take their first rise from, and are born and cherished in the Mind it self. The greatest of All, and indeed the Source and Root of all the rest, is *Pride and Presumption*. (The First, and the Original Sin of Mankind, the Bane of every Soul, and the Cause of all manner of Evil.) 'Tis This that puffs Men up with *Sufficiency* and *Self-Satisfaction*; This will not suffer us to yield to any Body, or think others Wiser or Better than our selves. This makes us despise the good Counsel of our Friends; and place an entire Confidence in our own Opinions. This calls the Judgments of other People into Question; arraigns and condemns them; nay, sometimes, such as we understand nothing of, nor are capable of examining or comprehending the Reasons of them. 'Tis most truly observ'd, that *Judgment* and *Wisdom* is not only the Best, but the Happiest Portion God Almighty hath distributed among Men. For tho' this Distribution be made with a very uneven Hand, yet no Body thinks himself stinted or ill dealt with; but he that hath never so little is contented in this Respect however, and thinks he hath a Child's Share at least. Now This Distemper is owing to no Cause so much, as the want of being more intimately acquainted with our selves; for by this means we are Strangers to our Wants and Weaknesses, and not at all sensible of our greatest Misfortunes; So that the Root of all our Diseases is *Ignorance*, not That which is opposed to Skill in Arts and Sciences, and conversing with the Writings of learned Men; but Ignorance of our own Affairs and Condition; the Removal and Cure whereof was proposed in the Beginning, as the Design of the whole First Book.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Memory.

M*emory* is very often mistaken by the Vulgar for *Understanding* and *Good Sense* ; but in truth they are very different Things. For both Reason and Experience tell us (as hath been observed formerly) that it is very possible and usual, for a Man, who is Excellent in one of these Respects, to be wretchedly weak and wanting in the other. This indeed is a Faculty very Serviceable and Useful to Mankind ; but it comes far short of the *Understanding* ; and is much the Tenderest, and most Feeble of all those Parts, whereof the Rational Soul is composed. To excel in it is not very necessary ; except for Three Sorts of People. 1. Men of *Trade, and much Business*. 2. Those that are *extremely Talkative*, for this is the Store-house, from whence they must be furnished with Matter for Discourse ; and it is naturally more full and fruitful than Invention ; but he that cannot be supplied from hence, must make it up by Stuff of his own forging. And, 3. *Great Lyars*, for * *These, indeed, ought to have good Memories*. The want of Memory hath its Conveniences too. For this will dispose Men to speak Truth, to be Modest, and talk no more than their Share, and to forget the Faults and Injuries of other People. A moderate Proportion of this Faculty, will serve ones Turn, and answer all the Ends of it very well.

* *Mendacem oportet esse Memorem.*

C H A P. XVI.

Of Imagination and Opinion.

I.
The Effects
of Imagi-
nation.

THE Power of *Imagination* is exceeding great ; This is in Effect the very Thing, that makes all the Noise in the World : almost all the Clutter and Disturbances we feel, or make, are owing to it. (Accordingly it was observ'd before, that This is, if not the *Only*, yet at least the most *active* and bustling *Faculty* of the Soul.) And, in good Truth, the Effects of it are Wonderful, Unaccountable, and almost Incredible. For the Influences of *Imagination* are not confined to the Body or the Mind of that Person alone, where it is born and cherished ; but extend and transfuse themselves far and wide, and act very strongly upon other People. It is fitted for all manner of Operations, and the most distant and contrary Passions are raised by it ; it puts the Man into all manner of Forms, and the Face into all Colours and Complexions : Makes Men blush with Shame, look pale with Fear, tremble and quake, casts them into Fits of Raving and Confusion ; These, tho' strange, are yet some of its least Effects, and gentle in Comparison of others. It checks and enfeebles Men in their hottest Career ; balks their Pleasures, and chills all their Spirits. It marks and deforms, nay, sometimes kills *Embryo's* in the Womb ; hastens Births, or causes Abortions ; takes away the Speech, and ties the Tongue ; and sometimes enables the Dumb to speak, as the Story of *Cræsus* his Son assures us. Makes Men Stiff and Motionless, benumbs and binds up the Senses, stops

stops the Breath ; These are its Effects upon the Body. Then for the Mind, It robs Men of their Knowledge and Judgment, turns them into Fools and stupid Sots ; as *Gallus Vibius* for Instance, who having strain'd his Imagination too far in the study and practice of Folly, and its Motions, is said to have disturb'd his Understanding to that Degree, that he turn'd a mere Natural, and cou'd never return to sound Judgment and good Sense again. It inspires Men with strange Presages of Things hidden and future, fills them with Enthusiasms and Fancies, out of the common Road of Thinking ; throws them into Extasies and Raptures ; nay, possesses them with the Thoughts and Expectations of Death, till at last they die indeed ; as it did that Malefactor, who, when his Cap had been pull'd over his Eyes in order to Execution, was found stark dead upon the Scaffold, when they came to uncover him again, and read his Pardon. In a word, A great part of those unusual Operations, which create such Amazement in the Vulgar, Apparitions, and Visions, and Witchcrafts, are to be attributed to the force of Imagination ; and what They think done by the Power of the Devil, or some familiar Spirits, (for I meddle not here with the Supernatural Operations of God's own Spirit) is commonly no more than a strong Fancy, either in the Person that does these strange Things, or of the Spectators that are deluded with them, and think they see those Objects, which really they do not. And the great Care in these Cases is, to distinguish wisely between Truth and Falshood, and not suffer our Judgments to be captivated with vulgar Errours.

In this part of the Soul it is, that *Opinion* keeps its Residence, which is nothing else but a vain and easie, a crude and imperfect Judgment of things, taken up upon slight and insufficient grounds ;
too

too credulous an Assent to the Representations of our outward Senses, or common Report, which rests in the first Appearances of Things, and fixes in the Imaginative Faculty, without ever going farther, or referring the Matter to the Understanding, to be thoroughly examin'd, and digested there, and so wrought up, and finish'd into solid Reason. Till This be done, no true Judgment can be made, and such as a Man may venture to abide by. And accordingly we see the other is mutable and inconstant, fleeting and deceitful. A very dangerous Guide, that makes Head against Reason; of which it is only the Image and Shadow, and that but an empty and false one neither. This is the Source of all our Evils, our Confusions and Disorders, our Passions and Troubles; the most, and the worst of them rise out of a prepossest Fancy, and heated Imagination: So that in truth Mad-men and Fools, the Ignorant and the Mob, are blindly led by the Nose by it, and follow this Leader; and betray their Folly in doing so; as Wise and Judicious Men distinguish themselves, and approve their Prudence in suffering nothing but Reason to guide and govern them.

3.
The World That thus it is, we see plainly; for, as hath been observ'd long ago by one of the Ancients,
is govern'd *It is not the Reality, nor the true Nature of Things,*
by Opinion. *but the Notion and Opinion Men entertain of them,*
*that disquiets, and so violently torments their Souls **

Thus we turn our own Executioners, form Evils to our selves which *are not*, and strangely aggravate those that *are*, by frightful Idea's, which belong not to them. The Truth and Essence of Things never enters our Minds in its true Pro-

* Opinione sæpius quam Re laboramus: plura sunt quæ nos terrent, quàm quæ nos premunt.

portions, nor works upon us by its natural Force and Authority; for were it thus with us, all Things that are alike in themselves, wou'd be alike to us; and the same Object wou'd produce the same Affections and Resentments in all Men, allowing only some small matter of difference in the Degree of them. At this rate all Mankind wou'd be of the same Opinion: What is false would be universally rejected, and what is true as universally embrac'd; for *Truth* can be but one and the same; and is always equal and consistent with it self. But quite contrary, We find that the Difference of Opinions is infinite; Men do not only vary from, but directly contradict one another. And there are but very few Instances, in which even Men of the best Natural Abilities, and most eminent for their Improvements and acquir'd Learning, are all of a Mind. This shews sufficiently, that the Idea's of Things are compounded and mix'd before we entertain them, that we have them at our Mercy, and put what Forms we please upon them; And, that the Condition they come to us in, is not what Nature gave, but what the Temper and Disposition of our own Minds have moulded and modell'd them into. That which I firmly believe my self, I cannot prevail with my Friend to believe; those are Arguments to Me, which to Him are none at all. Nay, which is more; Let one be never so confidently assur'd of a Thing to Day, I cannot engage that I shall continue in the same Opinion of it to Morrow: And it is odds I may, (and plain that I often do) entertain very different Notions of it, and be quite otherwise affected with it another time. So sure it is, that Things have just that Place in our Opinion and Esteem, which we think fit to assign them; that they are relish'd just as our Palate stands at that time; and shew to us according

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Tit. I. 15.

ding to those Colours which we our selves have tinctur'd them with. Like the Eyes of Men in the *Faundice*, or the *Prisms*, that refract and vary the Rays, that fall upon the Organs of our outward Senses, so does the Soul alter its Objects too; and the present Constitution of it is the *Medium*, thro' which they must pass to us. St. Paul's Observation with regard to Morals, may be apply'd to Speculation too, *Unto the Pure all things are pure, but unto the Defiled is nothing pure.* Thus our Thoughts are like our Clothes, that keep us warm, with a Heat which is none of their own, but such as we first gave them, and they keep it; and at the same time that they receive our Warmth from within, they receive and keep the Cold of Frost and Snow without. But still the Warmth we feel is all our own; we first impart it to them, and they in requital preserve it for our Benefit, and pay what they received, back again to us.

4.

How few are there of those Opinions, which we profess to entertain, that, when look'd into, are not at last resolv'd into Authority, and taken upon Trust? We believe and act, we live and die upon Credit and Content; and our great Business is to conform our selves to Custom, and to think and do like the rest of the World, and according to what They, not our own Reason, esteems most adviseable. Thus *Fashions*, and not *Judgment*, govern Mankind; and perhaps indeed, for the greatest Part of Mankind, this is not much amiss; for most People have not Wit enough to choose for themselves, and therefore ought to resign the Government of their Actions to others: But Wise Men are above these mean and servile Compliances; they have a better Rule to walk by than *Authority* and *Example*; as I hope to shew at large in the following Parts of this Treatise.

Book II.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

The Will.

THE *Will* is a most exquisite Piece, a magnificent Accomplishment of Humane Nature indeed ; of wonderful Importance, and such as deserves and requires our utmost Care and Study, to regulate and manage it well : For this hath the most commanding Influence upon a Man's Condition ; and his whole Happiness in a manner depends upon it alone. This is the only Faculty which Nature hath put in our own Power. All the rest, such as *Memory*, *Understanding*, *Imagination*, are at the Mercy and Disposal of a Thousand Accidents, which oftentimes disturb, and change, and impair, nay, sometimes destroy, and take them quite away from us. Again : This draws the whole Man after it, and carries him whithersoever it self is determin'd ; for he that conquers the *Will* hath subdu'd the Person. When the *Understanding* is convinc'd, the Conquest is by no means entire ; for the *Will* frequently holds out afterwards, and makes an obstinate Defence against Reason and sober Judgment. But when once This yields, All is surrender'd, and the Man is not now any longer his own Master, he hath from thenceforth nothing left that he can call his own. Once more ; This is the very Thing that fixes our Character ; It makes and it denominates Good or Ill Men : This gives our Temper and Complexion, and we appear to the World under its Colours and Dispositions. As of all Virtues and Qualifications of the Soul, *Probity* is the first and chief, and infinitely

ly more desirable than Learning or Parts : All that Nature, or Art, or Industry can give, are not comparable to it ; so it must be confess'd, that the *Will*, which is the Seat and proper Residence of Virtue and Goodness, is infinitely the most excellent Faculty that Humane Nature can boast of. A Man is neither virtuous nor vicious, honest, nor dishonest, for knowing what Virtue and Vice, Honesty and Dishonesty are ; tho' this Knowledge be never so nice and exact in the Speculation ; but by his Inclination, and Love, and Practice of these Things, by the Disposition of his Mind, the Choice of his Heart, the Bent of his Affections, and the general Tendency of his Manners and Behaviour. There are indeed some other Pre-eminences peculiar to the Understanding ; it is as the Husband in the Family, and this as the Wife, which ought to be under its Governance and Direction : That is the Guide, or as the Light, This as the Traveller, which shou'd follow its Instruction, and walk by them : But still the last Result of all depends upon the *Will* ; This finishes the Action, and determines the whole Matter ; and in that respect the *Will* is superior even to the *Understanding* it self.

2.

The true and most remarkable Difference between these Two Faculties, with regard to the manner of their Operation, seems to be this : That by the *Understanding* Objects come into the Soul, and are there receiv'd and entertain'd, as the several Terms by which the Offices proper to this Part, are usually express'd, (such as Apprehending, Conceiving, Comprehending, and the like) do plainly import. And here they make their Entrance, not according to what they really are in their true Nature and full Proportions, but according to the present Disposition and Capacity of the Person, and in such Measures only as he is

is able to receive them in. Those Objects which are great and sublime, are for this reason under a necessity of condescending and contracting themselves, and come to us with considerable Abate-ments and Defalcations ; because the Passage at which they enter is not large enough for their true Height and Bulk : Just as the Ocean flows into the *Mediterranean*, not in such Quantities as are agreeable to its own Fulness, but such only as the *Streight's Mouth* can give Admission to. Now in the Operations of the *Will*, the Method is quite contrary ; Here the Soul goes as it were out of it self, it stretches and moves forward toward the Object ; it seeks and runs after it with open Arms, and is eager to take up its Residence, and dwell with the Thing desir'd and lov'd : Nay, it even transforms it self into *That*, assumes its Name and its Nature, wears its Livery, and is distinguish'd by the Things it serves, and retains to. Hence we give it the Title of a *Virtuous* or *Vicious*, a Spiritual or a Carnal Mind ; according as it pursues commendable and exalted Objects, or is sunk into Sensuality and Vice. Thus the true and only way by which the *Will* can ennoble it self, is by loving and chusing worthy and noble Things ; and the abandoning it self to little and low, base and unworthy ones, is the debasing and disparagement of it. So that our former Comparison is in this regard justify'd again ; for thus the *Will* is as a Wife, who gets or loses Quality, according to the Person she marries ; and in Strictness can claim no Honour, nor Place, but that which belongs to her Husband.

Daily Experience assures us, that there are *Three Things* which whet and stimulate the *Will* ; The Difficulty of Obtaining ; The Rarity or Excellence of the Thing we seek ; and The Absence, or Fear of Losing it. And the Three Considerations

derations opposite to These, which are, Its being Easy, and in our own Power; The Abundance or Commonness of it; and The Constant Presence, and Secure Enjoyment, do as much blunt and pall our *Will*. The Three former raise our Esteem of any Thing; the Three latter render it cheap, and beget Neglect and Contempt. We are also sharpened and made more eager by Opposition and Refusal; and entertain some sort of Indignation, which makes us more resolute against any thing that pretends to stand in our way, and disappoint our Desires. And thus, in the other Extreme, we disdain and overlook the Blessings we have in hand, tho' never so valuable; and lose what we are already possess'd of, for Things distant and in Reversion; and in Proportion, what we lawfully do or may enjoy, for such as we cannot or ought not.

** What comes with Ease we nauseously receive;
Restraint inflames; and Hardships Pleasure give.*

Thus the Case stands with us in our Pleasures of all sorts. † *The Danger, which in reason should absolutely destroy Delight, is the very thing which heightens it, and the strongest Incentive to our Appetites in the Pursuit of it.* So that both Extremes have at last the same Effect, and either of them serves to make us miserable: Want and Plenty, Security and Fear, Desire and Enjoyment, all give us the same Disquiet, and put us to perpetual Pain. And this unhappy Disposition is the true Account, why Men so seldom make a right Estimate of Things; from

** Quod licet ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.*

Ovid Eleg. Amor. Lib. II.

† *Omniū rerum Voluptas ipso quo debet fugari periculo crescit.*

whence grew that Proverb of the *Prophet in his own Country*, to intimate, how very different *Intrinsic Worth* and *Common Opinion* are ; and that the highest *Endowments*, and most *Divine Excellencies*, when *Custom* and *Acquaintance* hath render'd them familiar to us, can no longer preserve the *Value* and *Veneration* most justly due to them.

What Course is to be taken for the managing and regulating our Will, will be shewn hereafter.

See
B II. Ch. 2.
B III. Ch. 6

The Passions and Affections.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TH E *Passions* of the Mind are a very large and copious Subject, furnish great variety of Matter for Reflection, and are one of the most considerable Topicks in all this Treatise of *Wisdom*: And, upon this Occasion, we are to observe, that the first Step to be made in this Branch of it, is to learn the true Nature of the Passions, and how to distinguish them from each other, which shall be taught you here in the *First Book*: And then, for the Remedies of Cure, by which they are to be curb'd, controul'd, and brought within due Bounds, such of them as are general will be laid down in the *Second*; And those that are proper for each Passion in particular, will be directed and specify'd accordingly in the *Third Book*. This Method being most agreeable to that Scheme of the whole Work, drawn out in the *Preface*.

Now in order to attaining a clear and distinct Knowledge of them at present, I design to employ one Chapter in treating of the *Passions* in general, and then to speak of each *Passion* singly in the Chapters

that follow: But before I enter upon That, I think my self oblig'd in Justice to declare, that of all the Authors I have seen, none hath represented this Matter more copiously, and to the Life, than the *Sieur de Vaux* in his Moral Tracts ; to whom I have been much beholding, and have borrow'd a great deal from thence, of what I shall say upon this Subject of the *Passions*.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Passions in general.

I. *An Account of Passion ; what and whence it is.* **P**assion is a violent Motion of the Soul, in that which is distinguish'd by the Name of its Sensitive Part : And the Cause and Tendency of this Motion is, either to pursue somewhat which the Soul apprehends to be Good ; or to decline and run away from something which it apprehends to be Evil.

2. But it is very necessary, and of great Consequence upon this Occasion, to be rightly inform'd how these Motions begin, and what it is that cherishes and kindles these Fires in us. Of This, several Accounts may be given, and different Comparisons made use of to illustrate it by, according to the different Respects in which we consider them. And first of all, with regard to the Suddenness and Vehemence of their Emotions, it is to be observ'd, That the Soul, which, however seemingly multiply'd by Distinctions, is really but one and the same in the Body, hath several Powers belonging to it ; and These differ greatly in their Qualities and Operations, according as the several Vessels in which the Soul keeps her Residence, and

and the Instruments she makes use of in discharging her Functions, and the Objects propounded to her Contemplation are differently dispos'd. Now when the Parts, where the Soul takes up her Lodging, are not crowded or over-burden'd, but fill'd in such Proportions as fute well with their ordinary Custom and Capacity, and such as are convenient for a due Discharge of their respective Duties, then all the Operations of the Soul are gentle and mild, sedate and regular. But, on the other side, when any of these Parts are either put into a swifter and more violent Motion, or are heated above their ordinary and proper Temper, then they immediately feel a considerable Change, to the great Prejudice and Disorder of the Soul. The like we see in the Beams of the Sun, which, when scatter'd loosely with all that Freedom they naturally take in diffusing themselves, impart a moderate and gentle, a cherishing and kindly Warmth ; but when contracted within the Concave of a Burning-Glass, they burn up, and quite consume the very Things to which they gave Life and Nourishment before. It must be farther observ'd too, that These Parts are not always distributed alike ; And from hence arises another Distinction, not only with regard to the Kind and Quality, but to the Degree of their Emotion ; and so they differ in the same sort, as their Violence is greater or less. Those Motions that are moderate, are capable of being relished and digested ; a Man knows what he feels, and is in a Condition of expressing his Resentment in Words, or giving it Vent by Tears. But those that are excessive and extreme, are too big, and too mighty. They stun and take away our Senses quite, fill the Soul with Confusion and Amazement, bind up, and quite over-bear her Powers, and disable her from acting.

* *Slight*

** Slight Passions find a Vent, and Words command ;
The Fierce swell inward, dumb and stupid stand.*

2.
Of the Vi-
cious Irre-
gularity in
them.

Thus much may suffice, to give us some little Notion of the *Passions*, the manner of their Operation, and their Degrees in general. But if we now look upon them, in the Second Place, with regard to the Viciousness, and Irregularity, and Extravagance ; the Injustice and Unreasonableness these *Passions* are frequently guilty of ; thus Man may not unfitly be resembled to a State or Commonwealth, and the Condition of the Soul, to that of a Monarch, presiding over that State, constituting several Officers and Magistrates under him, to assist in the good Government of such vast Multitudes of People ; giving particular Laws and Directions for their Behaviour, and for the due Exercise of their particular Charges and Commissions ; but still reserving to himself and his own Supreme Jurisdiction, the Cognizance and Determination of all Matters of great Weight and general Importance ; and for the giving fresh and necessary Orders, commanding that all extraordinary Accidents and Emergences, should immediately and faithfully be reported to himself in Person. Now upon such a Constitution, and such Orders duly observ'd, the Peace and Prosperity of the whole Kingdom will depend. But if these be neglected and broken, and put out of their proper Course ; If the Magistrates, which go between, and are a sort of Balance between King and People, shall suffer themselves, either to be impos'd upon thro' Easiness or Credulity ; or corrupted by Favour or Affection ; or if they shall employ their Authority

** Cure leves loquantur, ingentes stupent. Senec. Hippolyt.*

in

in acting contrary to the established Laws, and Duties of their Places ; or, if they shall go beyond their Commissions, and come to a final Resolution in Causes, which they ought not to determine, without ever laying them before their Sovereign, who hath reserv'd the Hearing and Decision of all such Matters to himself in Person : In all these Cases, I say, the publick Peace is violated, the Establishment infring'd, the Prerogative incroach'd upon, and nothing but Mischief, and Misery, and Confusion can be the End of it. Now thus it is likewise in our *Little World*. The *Understanding* is *King in Man* ; and under him is employed a Faculty, whose Business it is to receive Idea's, and to make an Estimate of them ; This is the Subordinate Magistrate, whose Office obliges him to examine, and to judge ; the Evidence he goes upon, is that Report the Senses make of all Things represented to them ; and according to this Testimony, and the Judgment in Consequence of it, the Affections are by the same Faculty put forward, in order to execute this Sentence. For his Direction, and Governance in the Execution of this Office, our Judge in Commission hath the Law, the Light of Nature, and Dictates of Reason to go by ; and this, in ordinary Cases, is sufficient without any farther Formality : But if it happen, that the Affair be of great Moment, or if any Difficulty arise, then he must have recourse to, and know the Pleasure of his Superiour ; and in this Case the Understanding, which sits Supreme, answers all Doubts and Points of Law, and expects to be consulted and applied to for Orders and Advice. This is the Scheme of our Government and Constitution ; and so long as Matters are thus managed, all is quiet and well. But it is our great Unhappiness, that this Imaginative Faculty, (which is under the Intellectual, but over the Sensitive, and

to

to whose Jurisdiction the first Examination and Judgment of Things belong,) often suffers it self to be bribed, corrupted, imposed upon; and the Effect of this is, First to pass wrong and rash Judgment; then to set the Affections at work to very ill Purpose; and at last to disturb, and confound, and ruine All. Now several things there are, which may contribute towards the depraving, and disordering this Power, in its Judgments and Operations: As first of all; The *Senses* themselves, which cannot penetrate into the Bottom, nor comprehend the real Substance, and hidden Nature of Things, but the bare Surface, and next Appearance of them only: And these make a Report to the Soul, according to their present Apprehension; set before it the outward Images only, and that, so as may gain them Favour and Recommendation, and pre-possessing it with a Character of their Qualities, founded upon the Satisfactions and Delights they are capable of administering to these Senses in particular, and not upon the Considerations, how Necessary, or how Advantageous they may prove to the whole Man in general. A Second Corruption, which often confirms, and strikes in upon the Neck of This, is the False Notions, and Unthinking Cry of the *Vulgar*; when we look upon ourselves oblig'd to Approve and Disapprove, as Others do; and when nothing is reputed needful to establish an Opinion, more than its being Popular. From these two false Offices of Intelligence, The Report of our own Senses, and the Voice of the People, proceeds a rash Inconsiderate Opinion, which the Soul takes up of Things; and without fair Tryal, or sufficient Deliberation, pronounces them, Good or Evil; Advantageous or Hurtful; fit to be courted, or fit to be detested and avoided. And this is without all Dispute a very dangerous Guide; a very hot and hasty Mistress; for

for as soon as ever we entertain it, without more ado it seizes upon the Imagination; and there standing upon its Defence, strengthens it self as in a Castle, mans all the Works, and holds it out against Reason; then it comes down to the Heart, and there stirs and agitates the Affections, with the violent Resentments of Hope and Fear, and Joy and Grief. In a Word, it is a perfect Incendiary in the State, looks out all the Fools, and disaffected in the Soul, and blows them up into Sedition; raises the *Mobb*, that is, the Passions, and sets all in an Uproar and Confusion. And all this by taking wrong Methods, going Headlong to work, and not submitting the Matter to the *Understanding*, as by the Nature of this Establishment, and the Duty of its Station, that Faculty was obliged to do.

Permit me to set before you another Illustration of this Matter by a Comparison taken from Military (as the former was an Allusion to Civil) Government. The *Senses* answer here both to the Centinels, whose Post it is to watch, and be constantly upon the Guard, for the safety of the Soul; and also to Scouts, who are to look out, and scour the Country, and bring in Intelligence to the *Understanding*, which is the Supreme Commander of the Soul. To qualifie them for this Duty, They are endued with a Power, of perceiving Things; discerning and taking the Faces and Forms of them; and embracing or rejecting them, according as they appear Agreeable or Disagreeable, Delightful or Odious to them. But now in the Execution of their Office, their Business is only to spy out, and to report; to take Care, that their Intelligence be true, and to bring it Faithfully, and relate it Plainly and Calmly. And they ought to satisfy themselves with delivering their Message, without taking upon them to disturb the higher Powers, or to sound to Arms immediately, and so put all into Con-

Consternation and universal Disorder. And thus it often happens; that as the Centinels in an Army, may lie under Mistakes, because they are not acquainted with the secret Designs of the General; and so receive Them for Friends, which are Enemies in Disguise; and suspect those for Enemies, which are Allies, and marching to their Assistance; The *Senses*, in like manner, not being privy to all that passes above, and for want of consulting Reason in the Case, are frequently imposed upon by counterfeit Appearances, and apt to take That for a Friend, which is, in truth, our deadly Enemy. And when they go giddily to work upon this Imagination, and without ever expecting Orders from the *Understanding*, fall on immediately, and alarm the *Concupiscible*, and *Irasible* Faculties; then they raise Tumults, and Mutinies in the Soul; and while these last, there is nothing but Clamour and Violence; the Voice of *Reason* cannot be heard, nor the Commands of the *Understanding* be at all obeyed.

4.
Their Distinctions.

According to the Object and Subject.

Six in the Concupiscible Part.

Three for Good, and Three for Evil.

Let us now in the next Place, observe their several Regiments and Ranks; the General, and the Subordinate Kinds and Divisions of them. Now we must know, That all *Passion* whatsoever, is moved by the Appearance, either Real or Imaginary, of Good or Evil; what actually is, or what is by the Person apprehended so to be. If the Object be Good, and the Soul considers it as such, simply, and without any other Circumstances, this is that Motion of the Soul, which goes by the Name of *Love*. If to that Good, so considered as before, be added the Circumstance of its being present, and the Man reflect upon himself, as in full Possession and actual Enjoyment of it, This is call'd *Joy*, or *Pleasure*; but if it be future and distant, then it is *Desire*. On the other Hand, consider an Evil Object, abstractedly, and merely as such, and the

the Passion it stirs in us, is *Hatred*: If it be present, and affect us sensibly, it is *Grief* and *Pain*; if some other Person labour under it, 'tis *Pity* and *Compassion*; if it be future and approaching only, then 'tis *Fear*. And This is remarkable, concerning the Passions already named; that Those of them, which proceed from the Apprehension, or the Appearance of Evil, such as we run away from, and are possess'd with an Abhorrence of, do of all others sink deepest into the Heart, take fastest hold of us, and are most difficult to be dispossess'd again. This now is the first Regiment of Mutineers, which disturb the Content, and break the Peace of our Souls, and these are quarter'd in that which is term'd the *Concupiscible* Part. The Effects and Disorderly Carriage of These are, it must be confest, of very dangerous Consequence; but yet they are not near so outrageous and Mischievous, as those that we are going to mention. For these first Motions, formed here by the Representation of the Object, are afterwards continued, and communicated to the *Irascible* Part of the Soul, that is, The Place, where the Soul is active, and contriving Means to obtain what she apprehends to be Good; and to deliver her self from that which she apprehends to be Evil. And then, as a Wheel already in Motion, when a fresh Force pushes it, receives that Addition easily, and whirls about with wonderful Strength and Swift-ness; so the Soul, which is already stirred and warmed with the first Apprehension, when a Second Attempt is made upon it, and the Coals are blown, flames out, and is transported with Rage and Violence, much greater than before. The *Passions* Then raised, ride higher; are much more furious and ungovernable; for now indeed they are double: the first have come in and joyned them, and thus they back and sustain one another, by
this

*Five in the
Irascible;
Two for
Good, and
Three for
Evil.*

this Union, and mutual Consent. For the former Passions, which were the Result of Good or Evil in Appearance, considered in Speculation only, now fall in with the Practical Consideration of Means proper for the acquiring or avoiding them, and so excite in us *Hope* or *Despair*. And here, those that arise from the Prospect of a future Evil, produce in us, either *Fearfulness* or *Courage*; the Apprehension of a present Evil, kindles *Anger* and *Indignation*; which are Passions extremely Furious and Violent, and such, as when they find the *Reason* once disturbed, confound and absolutely overturn it. These are the Principal Winds, that raise all the Storms in our Souls; and the Cavern (like that of *Aeolus*) where they are ingendred, and from whence they break loose, is nothing else but *Opinion*, (and *Opinion* is most commonly a false, fleeting, and uncertain Thing; contrary to Nature and Truth, to Reason and Certainty) that is, A Notion we have, that the Things which are then represented to our Imaginations, are Good or Evil. Nor matters it much, how wild, and extravagant, this Notion is in it self, provided we do but give it Entertainment. For Men proceed not upon Realities, but upon their own Fancies; and when once we have taken a Conceit that a Thing is Good or Evil, we run after, or we run away from it, with as much Eagerness and Impatience, as if it were actually such; and yet it often, very often happens, that the Nature of the Object is directly contrary to our Apprehensions, and ought to move Resentments, just opposite to those we feel upon its Account. And such in general are our *Passions*.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Nature of these *Passions* comes next to be consider'd ; and my Design in it is, to expose the Folly, the Vanity, the Misery, the Unreasonableness and Injustice, the Horror and Deformity that is in them ; that so Men may be taught to know them as they are, and to hate them as they deserve. The Advices proper for preserving our selves from the ill Effects of them, will be deliver'd at large in the following Books. For the two Parts of a Physician's Business, you know, are first to shew the Disease, and then to apply fit Remedies. My present Care then shall be, to tell Men what they ail, and where their Distemper lies ; and for the Prescriptions they must wait a little longer.

See
Book III.
*In the Ver-
tues of For-
titude and
Temperance*

Now of the several *Passions* here to be describ'd, those shall first be spoken to, which have a respect to the Appearance of Good, such are *Love*, and the several sorts of it ; *Desire*, *Hope*, *Despair*, *Joy*, and the like. And after these we will enter upon those that are excited in us by the Apprehension of Evil, which indeed are very numerous, as *Anger*, *Hatred*, *Envy*, *Jealousy*, *Revenge*, *Cruelty*, *Fear*, *Grief*, and *Compassion*.

Book III.

N

CHAP.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Love in general, and at large.

Love compar'd with
and distinguished
from the
rest.

LOVE is the First, the Chief, the Reigning Passion ; the rest are all deriv'd from, and reduc'd at last into This ; But it is of vast Extent, employ'd upon different Subjects, distinguish'd into different Sorts and Degrees. Of These the *Three* principal that fall within our present Purpose, and to which all the rest may very well be referr'd, are *Ambition* or *Pride*, which is the Love of Honour and Greatness ; *Avarice*, which is the Love of Riches ; and *Sensuality*, or *Carnal Desire*, which is the Love of Pleasure. (These I call such as come within our present Design, which is to treat of *Love*, as it is vicious, and the effect of Passion ; for *Virtuous Love*, which may be distinguish'd into Friendship, Charity, and Natural Affection or Tenderneſs, is out of the compass of this Place, and will be spoken to under the *Virtue of Justice*.)

Book III.

The *Three* foremention'd *Passions* are those *Three* Gulphs and Precipices, that drown so great a Part of the World in Destruction and Perdition ; the Plagues of Mankind ; from the Infection whereof, how few, exceeding few escape untouch'd ? The Corruptions that taint every Part of us, even All we are, and All we have, and All we take in hand ; our Souls, and Bodies, and Possessions : These are the Magazines, from whence those *Three* mortal Enemies of the Peace and Salvation of Mankind, the *Devil*, the *World*, and the *Flesh*, furnish themselves with Arms to assault and destroy

destroy us. They may in Truth be call'd Three Powers or Potentates, the commonest and most universal Passions, whose Territories are so large, that the Apostle hath divided the whole Universe between them. *All that is in the World* (says he) *1 John ii. the Lust of the Flesh, and the Lust of the Eyes, and the Pride of Life.* 16.

Of these, *Ambition* is the most refin'd and spiritualiz'd, and hath therefore been esteem'd more noble, or less mean, than the Two others. *Sensuality*, or *Love of Pleasure*, in regard of its being more Natural and Universal, (for even Beasts, which are wholly unacquainted with the other sorts, have a Share in this) is more violent, and less vicious. When I speak of Violence, I mean, considering it simply, and according to the Nature of the thing. For tho' it may, and sometimes does happen, that *Ambition* prevails over it, yet this is a particular Distemper, a Case excepted from the common Course, and general Rules. But of all the rest, *Avarice* is the most stupid and senseless Passion, the surest Symptom of a fordid and sickly Mind.

C H A P. XX.

Of Ambition.

Ambition is a Thirst of Honour and Glory, a greedy, and gluttonous, and inordinate Desire of Greatness. It is naturally a gentle and pleasing Passion, which with much Ease insinuates it self into Great and Generous Spirits, and is not driven out again without great Difficulty. We all think it our Duty and Commendation,

I.
*Definition
of it.*

to pursue and embrace that which is *Good*; and of all Things that pretend to this Character, *Honour* is most in request and esteem with us. And therefore all of us run full speed, and put ourselves upon the utmost Stretch, where This is the Prize. The Ambitious Man strives to be first, keeps his Eye forward upon the Goal, and upon those that have the Start of him; but forgets and takes no notice of the many he hath outstript himself. He feels more Discontent for One Man that hath got before him, than he enjoys Satisfaction for a Thousand that he hath left lagging after. *Seneca* observes very well, * *This is the constant Fault, and inseparable ill Quality of Ambition, never to look behind it.* Now *Ambition* is of Two sorts; The One aspires after Glory and Honour, a Good Reputation, a Great and Immortal Name; and this is of great Use and Publick Benefit; It is not only allowable, but in some Sense, and under certain Qualifications and Restraints, highly commendable: The Other sort affects Greatness and Power; and this is generally not only vicious, but destructive, and of most fatal Consequence to the World.

2.
Tis natural to us.

Ambition hath this peculiar Advantage, that the Seeds of it are sown, and the Root of it fast fix'd in the Heart of every one of us. We have a Proverb, indeed, which tells us *Nature is contented with a very little*; but then we have another too, that says with as great Truth the direct contrary; That *Nature is never satisfy'd*, nor capable of being contented at all. A Man never comes to the End of his Desires, so as to set up his Rest, but is always for climbing a little higher, and growing a little richer. No Man goes a mode-

* Habet hoc vitium omnis Ambitio, non respicit.

rate Pace, or chooses to advance leisurely towards Greatness and Glory ; but lays the Reins in the Neck, and rides Whip and Spur. † *Humane Nature is greedy of Preference and Power, and drives furiously on toward the gratifying those Desires.* And, indeed, their Speed is oftentimes so great, that the Riders are thrown, and break their Necks ; as History and Experience shew a world of Aspiring Men to have done, who have paid dear for all their Hopes, and lost both Them and Themselves, just when they were in View, and upon the Point of enjoying their promised Happiness. This, in short, is a Passion riveted into, and interwoven with our Constitution ; it seizes us early, 'tis violent while it lasts, and leaves us very late ; from whence some of the Philosophers have wittily called it the *Shirt of the Soul*, the *Vice next our Skin*, and that which is last pull'd off. * For even Wise Men are observ'd to strip off all other Vices, before they quit this Desire of Glory and Reputation.

As *Ambition* is the most violent and powerful in its Influences and Effects, so is it likewise the loftiest and most noble in its own Nature, of any Passion whatsoever. The Power and Force of it is manifest, in that absolute Mastery it gains over all other Things, even those which the World is most subdu'd by, even all other Passions and Desires. Nay, even *Love* it self, which sometimes pretends to dispute the Point of Power and Precedence, is yet miserably vanquish'd and tyranniz'd over by it. *Alexander, Scipio, and Pompey,* are so many Instances of this Observation ; and

3.
Its
Strength
and Superiority.

† *Natura nostra Imperii est avida, & ad implendam Cupiditatem præcep.*

* *Etiã Sapiëntibus Cupido Gloriæ novissima exuitur.*

Tacit.

Conquers
all other
Passions.

so are abundance of great Generals besides, who have refus'd to gratify their Inclinations, upon extraordinary fine Women, when they had them at their Mercy : And all this from no other Principle than a Point of *Honour* ; and a Soul enflamed with *Ambition* ; to which the Fires of Love were so far from being equal, that they were made subservient to it ; and the Conquest of these Desires became a Triumph and a Sacrifice to their Glory. Thus it happen'd very remarkably in *Cæsar* ; for no Man alive was ever more fiercely addicted to Amours of all sorts than He, (as the many Extravagances he had been guilty of both at *Rome*, and abroad in Foreign Parts, abundantly testify) no Man was ever more choice of his Person, more nice in Dress, more careful to preserve and render it agreeable to the Ladies ; and yet *Ambition* was evermore his reigning Passion. The Pleasures of Love, tho' they had him in perfect Subjection, when This came not into Competition with them, were then so feeble, and so over-match'd, that they never could prevail for the throwing away upon them so much as one Hour, which was capable of being employ'd, or made in any degree serviceable to the promoting his Honour. So that, notwithstanding the Mixture of any other Passions, which had their Seasons too ; yet *Ambition* sat supreme in his Soul, and was to all Intents and Purposes, as if It had had the sole and entire Possession of him. 'Tis true, we meet with an Example, the very *Reverse* of this, in *Mark Anthony*, and some Others, who have been so enslav'd by Love, as to give up All, banish their most necessary and weighty Cares, and lose themselves, and their Crowns, through mere Effeminacy and Neglect. But then these have been Persons of quite different Tempers ; for where both meet together, and are fairly weigh'd

one

one against the other, *Ambition* will cast the Scale. Some indeed, who argue for the Force of *Love* above it, tell you, that in reason it must needs be so, because This extends to the Body as well as the Mind, keeps the whole Man in Captivity, and is not only agreeable, but necessary and convenient too. But I shou'd think, the Reason holds on the contrary side, and that *Ambition* is therefore the stronger, because the more Spiritual Passion: What they pretend of the Body being also concern'd in Love, proves the Passion to be so much the feebler; for from hence it must, by necessary Consequence, be capable of being satiated and cloy'd. Again; What is Corporeal it self, admits of Corporeal Remedies and Cures, some which Nature provides, and others which Art invents; and accordingly Experience hath approved these, and shewed Instances of many who have beaten down the hottest *Flames of Love*; and of some who have overcome and quenched these quite, by artificial Means, and good Management. But now *Ambition* is so far from being glutted, that its Appetite is never satisfy'd. Enjoyment does but whet it more; and being seated wholly in the Soul, and the Reason, renders the Disease obstinate and incurable, incapable of outward Application, and too deep and subtle for Medicines to reach and fasten upon.

It does not only conquer the Regard for one's own Health and Ease, (for indeed *Honour* and *Ease* can never dwell together) and make Men content to sacrifice all their Quiet, and Comforts, and Enjoyment of the World; but even the natural Care and Tenderneſs for our very Lives is not able to stand before it. *Agrippina*, the Mother of *Nero*, was an eminent Example of this Nature, who being extremely desirous that her Son should be Emperor, and inform'd, that he

4.

The Care
of Life.

should be Emperor indeed, but it should be at the Expence of Her Life, made an Answer fit for the Mouth of *Ambition* her self, cou'd that be personated : Provided he may have the Power, (said she) I am content it should be upon the Condition of using it to my Destruction. * *Let my Son kill me, so my Son may but reign.*

5. *The Laws.* Thirdly ; *Ambition* makes its way through all Laws, and tramples Conscience it self under Foot : The great Professors of Morality, who tell you, that a Man must make it his Business to be entirely Virtuous, and pay an universal Obedience to Laws ; yet when they speak of *Ambition*, begin to mince the Matter, and are content to make an excepted Case of it. A Crown it seems is so sweet, so delicious a Morfel, that the Temptation is invincible, and deserves a Dispensation. The most abstemious Man may strain a Point, and break his Fast upon this Feast. * *If ever Breach of Law and Equity be allowable, (says one) it is in the Case of gaining a Kingdom ; but in every thing else, be sure to be strictly Virtuous.* “ Not that even in “ this, or any Case, such Liberties are to be indulg'd ; but They who thus express themselves, “ signify the strong Propensity of Humane Nature to this Passion ; how strong it is in all, “ and how difficult to be subdu'd by any, who are “ tempted with very great Advantages.

6. *Religion.* With the same Insolence does it treat the Holiest Things, erases all the Reverence of God, and treads *Religion* under Foot : For what greater Contempt of these can be shewn, than the World have seen in *Jeroboam*, who establish'd an Idolatrous Worship for the securing his Throne ; and *Mahomet*, who gave general Encouragement to all

* Occidat modo imperet. † Si violandum est Jus, regnandi causâ violandum est, in cæteris pietatem colas.

Perfuasions, and valu'd not which was uppermost, so he might reign : And the old Broachers of Heresies, who rather chose to forsake the right Way, and so become Heads of Parties, and Ringleaders in Falshood and Lyes, tho' a Thousand Disorders and Impieties were the visible and unavoidable Consequences of that wicked Choice, than to continue in a lower and less conspicuous Station, by being Disciples and Followers of the Truth? With regard to such as these it is, that the Apostle hath admirably foretold the Doom of Ambitious Men, That they who suffer themselves to be intangled in these Snares, *make Shipwrack of a good Conscience,* 1 Tim. i. 6. *err from the Faith, and pierce themselves through with many Sorrows.*

In short; It changes Men's Natures, hardens their Hearts, and makes them brutish; defaces all those tender Impressions and Resentments, which are most customary, and most due to our nearest Relations. The infamous Accounts, which Sacred or Prophane History hath recorded, the Barbarities and Murders committed upon the Persons of Parents, or Children, or Brethren, are most of them instigated by this *Passion*. Witness *Absalom*, and *Abimelech*, and *Athaliah*. *Romulus*, Sei King of *Persia*, who slew his Father and his Brother; *Soliman* the *Turk*, that dispatch'd his two Brothers. So unable is any Thing to stand against the Force of this impetuous *Passion*, which is for removing every Thing out of its way; and where-ever it takes its Course, overturns, and lays all level with the Ground.

* That which renders the Case yet more deplorable, is, that the Noblest and most Generous

7.

Natural Affection.

8.

It is a lofty Passion.

* Est autem in hoc genere molestum, quod in maximis Animis, splendidissimisq; ingeniis plerunq; existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae & gloriae Cupiditates. Cic. Lib. 1. de Offic.

Spi-

Spirits, such as Nature seems to have design'd for Master-pieces and Patterns, are most liable to this Passion. It is in it self a tall and stately Quality, and none but great Souls are capable of giving it Reception. This was the Temptation which seduc'd the *Angels* themselves; a Temptation of all others best accommodated to Their Circumstances, and perhaps the Only one the Perfection of their Nature cou'd be corrupted by: For *Ambition* is a Vice not suited to mean and little Souls. Your pitiful scoundrelly Fellows cannot come up to it; nor can common and indifferent Performances pretend to any Reward or Desert, such as it thirsts after. Glory and Renown always imply somewhat Brave and Great, and of a larger Size than ordinary; they are never to be bought at cheap and easie Rates; but are the Recompence and Effects of Good and Beneficial, shall I say? nay, rather of Great and Noble, and very Difficult Actions; of uncommon and wonderful Excellencies; such as excite Admiration and Astonishment, at the same time that they command Honour and Applause.

That ignoble greediness of Respect, that base and beggerly way of gaining Reputation, which submits to cringing and fawning upon all sorts of People, and declines the use of none, no not the most scandalous Methods of acquiring it; is sordid and shameful. Such Honours are a Scandal and Disgrace. A Man must take care not to express such an Eagerness after these Things, as is inconsistent with the Things themselves; not to be exalted and puffed up with vain Opinions of one's self, every time he does well; for he that does thus, procures his own Dishonour; and while he strives with great Pains to lift his Head above the Crowd, discovers his *Nakedness* and *Shame* at the same time.

Ambition is intricate and various ; it takes several Roads, and exerts it self by very different Methods. Sometimes it goes to work openly, and marches strait up to the Mark ; and thus *Alexander*, and *Cæsar*, and *Themistocles*, and other truly generous Spirits have proceeded. Sometimes it works in Secret, and goes in crooked Paths ; and thus some Philosophers, and great Pretenders to Piety and Virtue, have indulged themselves in the Exercise of it. They fetch a Compass, and come in at the Back-Door ; like Water-Men, that row one way, and look another ; they have laboured to get Honour, by a seeming Neglect, and contempt of Honour : And no Doubt, as *Plato* told *Diogenes*, there is more Glory, and greater Vanity, in refusing, and trampling upon Honours and Preferments, than in seeking and enjoying them. And *Ambition* never manages it self with greater Cunning and Success, than when it goes out of the beaten Road, and comes up to the Prize some unusual, and unseen Way.

9.
It operates
different
Ways.

Ambition is without Question a very vain and foolish Passion ; For after all, what does it so Zealously pursue, or what can be the Gains of it, when rightly computed ? It is giving Chase to a Vapour, catching at Smoke, instead of Fire and Light ; embracing a Shadow, instead of Body and Substance ; it is making a Man's whole Happiness precarious, suspending all the Satisfaction and Content of his Mind, upon Popular Opinion, the Humour, and the Breath of an ignorant and changing Multitude. It is a voluntary, and consequently the very worst, and most despicable Slavery ; the parting with our own *Native Rights* and Liberties, and depending upon the *Arbitrary Passions* of other People : 'tis the putting one's self under perpetual Constraint ; and engaging to act contrary to one's own Sense, in Hopes, by displeasing and disapproving

10.
The Folly
of it.

ving our selves, to please and gain the Approbation of Standers-by; 'tis a sacrificing our Affections and Reason to the Capriciousness of Spectators; 'tis the prostituting of Conscience to common Opinion; renouncing all love of Virtue, any farther than the World shall please to like, and keep it in Countenance; and 'tis the doing of Good, not for the sake of Goodness, but merely in Consideration of the Credit and Advantage to be got by it. In a Word, such Men are like full Vessels, that must be pierced for the Liquor they contain; not one Drop can be drawn from them, unless you give them Vent; nor any Benefit to be had of these Qualities, but such as takes Air.

II. *Ambition* hath no Bounds; 'tis a deep Gulph without Bank or Bottom; This is that true *Vacuum*, or vast empty Space, which the Philosophers after all their study, have never been able to discover in Nature; a Fire that feeds, and grows upon the Fewel we heap upon it. And in this Respect indeed it is just to its Master, and pays him for his Pains. For *Ambition* is only just in this, that it is sufficient for its own Punishment, and never fails to teaze and torment it self abundantly. What the Poets have couched under the Fable of *Ixion*, is the Restless Motion of the Ambitious Man's Desires; These are the Wheel that rolls to all Eternity within its own Circle, and, by its constant and wearisome Returns, gives no quiet, no relaxation to the Mind of the vain Man that is condemned to turn it.

12. *Some*, who have undertaken to flatter *Ambition*, pretend in its Vindication, that it is of great Use to Virtue, a Whet and Spur to brave and noble Enterprizes. For Men are content to abandon many other Vices, for the sake of This; and by degrees come at last to resign this too, for the sake of Virtue. But alas! the Matter, when critically examin'd

min'd, will be found far otherwise. 'Tis true, *Ambition* covers over, and conceals many *Vices*; but it takes away, and thoroughly reforms never a one. And even that Industrious Concealment, is but for a Season. It rakes them up, like Fire in the Embers, under the Dust and Rubbish of Hypocrisy, and Mischievous Diffimulation; but it is only to keep the Fire from going out, that it may be blown up, and flame out again more fiercely than ever, as soon as this Cheat hath carried its Point, and Men have gain'd Authority sufficient to bear them out in Bare-fac'd Wickedness. When the Man is in Power, and too Big for Punishment, or Controul; then, and not before, you see what he truly is. Before that, trust him not; for if you do, you will be apt to mistake him. When Serpents are numb'd with Cold, they have still the same Venom in their Nature, though the Effects of it be suspended for the present: and the Ambitious Man hath still the same Vices, the same Heat and Fury; he carries it about him; how Gentle, and Tame, and Cool soever his Disguise may be. The Fish is not yet caught; but when it is, then he will come abroad, in his true Colours, and Natural Complexion; and though *Ambition* should make so good Progress toward Virtue, as to quit all other Vices; yet there is but very little Hope or Appearance of its ever renouncing it self. It pushes Men to Brave and Illustrious Actions, I confess it; and the Benefit of these Actions to the Publick is unspeakable; but though Others may reap the Fruit, and be the better for such Actions, yet it will not follow, that the Person who does them is one whit the Better for them. These may be the Effect of *Passion*, and not of *Virtue* or Principles; and if they be so, this Excuse is vain. For at present it is not the *Profit*, but the *Intrinsic Goodness* of such Exploits, that we are inquiring

ring into. I know indeed this Passion shelters it self under that very excellent Maxim, *That We are not born for our selves alone, but for the General Good of Mankind*; But how good a Sanctuary this is, the Methods made use of for rising in the World, and Mens Behaviour after their Promotions and Successes, must shew. And These, if they be nicely observ'd, will give us Cause to suspect, that the Men, who talk at this Rate, speak against their own Consciences; and that *private Interest* is at least an equal, if not a stronger *Motive* to the Generality of Mankind, than the *Good of others*. Men look nearer Home in all they do, and That, how large soever the Pretensions to it may be, (for we cannot wonder, that Men should pretend at least to One of the best and most valuable Qualities in the World,) yet a *truly Publick Spirit* is very rarely to be found.

See Advice and Remedies again *this* Passion
in particular. Book III. Chap. 42.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Avarice, and the Passions opposite to it.

i.
What it is. **B**Y *Avarice* is to be understood an inordinate Love, and vehement Desire of Riches. Tho', indeed, it is not only, the Love and Fondness for them, that deserve this Name, but all Sort of over-curious Niceness, and sollicitous Concern about Riches will bear it very justly; even the Care of distributing them; and Liberality it self, if it take up too much of our Time and Pains, in ordering and making it exact. In short, All manner of Anxious Thought, with relation to Riches, favours strongly

strongly of this Passion ; for they ought to be entertain'd and used with a becoming Negligence, and to be looked upon, as they really are, not worth any earnest Attention of the Mind, nor a fit Object of our Care and Trouble.

The vehement Desire of Riches, and the mighty Pleasure of Possessing them, is merely Fantastical ; a Creature of our own Imagination, and hath no Being, no Foundation in Nature at all. 'Tis a Canker, or Gangrene in the Soul, that spreads and mortifies, and with its Venom corrodes and quite consumes all Our Natural Affections, and fills us with noxious and virulent Humours in their stead. No sooner hath This taken up its Dwelling in our Hearts, but immediately all those Tenderneesses, and kind Concerns are banished thence, which either Nature inspires, or Virtue recommends, and improves in us. All the Duties and Regards we owe to our Relations, to our Friends ; nay, to our very Selves, are no longer of any Consideration with us. All the World, when set in competition with Interest and Profit, goes for Nothing ; and at last we come to that pass, as even to over-look and despise our own Persons ; our Ease, our Health, our Bodies, our Souls, All are sacrificed to this Darling, this adored Wealth ; and, as the Proverb expresses it, *We sell the Horse to get the Provender.*

Avarice is a mean sordid Passion ; the Temper, or rather the Disease, of Fools and Earth-Worms, who esteem *Riches*, as the *Supreme Good*, and most exquisite Attainment Humane Nature is capable of ; and dread *Poverty* as the *Last of Evils* ; who cannot content themselves with a bare Competency, or such Provisions as are necessary for their Subsistence, which indeed are so small, that very few want them. They measure their Riches by the Bags and Weights of Bankers, and Goldsmiths ; whereas Nature teaches us to make a different

2.

3.

*The Folly
and Misery
of it.*

ferent Judgment, and directs us to the Standard of our own just Occasions. Now, is not this the very Extremity of Folly, to fall down and worship That, which Nature hath taught us to despise, by casting it under our Feet, and hiding it in the Bowels and dark Caverns of the Earth; as a thing not fit for publick view; but to be trampled and trod upon, as a just Object of our Neglect, and an Intimation of its own Worthlessness? There it was Originally, and there it had remained to all Eternity, had not the Vices of Mankind ranfack'd those dark Cells, and with great Difficulty and Violence drawn it up: and great their Reward of such Industry hath been: For what have they gain'd by it, but the Ground of Infinite Controversies, and Quarrels, and Blood-shed, and Rapine, a Fatal Instrument of devouring and destroying one another? ** We take unspeakable Pains to fetch up that above Ground (says one) which, when we have it, serves us only to fight for. Nay, we are not out of Countenance to have those very Things in highest Esteem, which God and Nature had made lowest, and thought the deepest Mines of the Earth, a Place good enough for.* Nature indeed seems in some Measure to have given sure Prefages, how Miserable those Men should be, who are in love with Gold, by the manner of its Growth, and the Quality of the Soil that produces it. For, as That Ground where the Veins of this Metal are found, is Unprofitable for other Uses; and neither Grass, nor Plants, nor any other Thing, of Value and Service to Mankind, will grow there; it is in this Respect a most lively Emblem of the Minds of Men, which are enamour'd with it; They being, in like manner, the most sordid, and abject, and

** In lucem propter quæ pugnaremus excutimus; non erubescimus summa apud nos haberi, quæ fuerunt ima Terrarum.*

abandon'd Wretches, cursed and condemned to Barrenness; void of all Honour, lost to all Virtue; and no kind of thing that is good in it self, or beneficial to the World, is to be obtained or expected from them. What a horrible Degradation is this? And how do we lessen and disparage ourselves, when we give up that Dominion and Liberty to which we were born, by becoming Servants and Slaves to the very meanest of our Subjects? * For *Riches* (as is most truly observ'd) *are the Wise Man's Servants, and the Fool's Masters.* And, in Truth, the Covetous Man cannot be so properly said to possess Wealth, as That may be said to possess Him. He hath it indeed, but he hath it in such a Sense only, as he hath a Fever, or some violent Disease, which hath got an absolute Mastery over him, and preys upon his Vitals, and all his Faculties. How extravagant is it to dote upon That, which neither hath any Goodness of its own, nor was ever able to make any one Man good since the Beginning of the World? A Thing that Providence distributes promiscuously, and with a negligent Hand; scatter'd in common to all the World, and the greatest Share, very often, permitted to the worst and most scandalous Part of Mankind? Nor is this all. For, tho' the Thing be indifferent in its own Nature, and that single Consideration is sufficient to wean, or at least to moderate, our Affections; yet the Effects and Consequences of it are by no means indifferent, but in the Issue and Event, incline strongly to the Worse. The Debasing of Mens Minds, and the Depravation of their Manners, being the manifest and frequent Effect of it. And, though it cannot be proved, that *Riches* ever reform'd one ill Disposition, and

* Apud Sapientem Divitiæ sunt in Servitute, apud Stultum in Imperio.

made it Virtuous ; yet there are innumerable Instances of Persons otherwise well-dispos'd, who have been corrupted and made Vicious by their Means. And when we have computed all the Conveniences that attend them, and represented these in their best Light, and to all possible Advantage ; it must be acknowledg'd after all, that a great many Wise Men have liv'd very easy and happy without them ; and a great many more Foolish and Naughty Men have dy'd scandalously for them. So then They are no *necessary Ingredient* of *Life*, and they expose us to Danger and Disgrace, and Death. In a Word, This is to act upon our selves the Barbarity and Tyranny, for which the cruel *Mezentius* was infamous ; to tie the Living Body to the Dead Carcass, that so it may languish and expire with greater Torment ; to mix a Noble and Refined Spirit, with the Dross and Excrement of the Earth ; to perplex and involve the Soul with innumerable Difficulties and Tortures, which this Passion will be sure to bring upon it ; to entangle one's self in the Snares of the Wicked one, and voluntarily to be taken Captive by the *Adversary of Souls*, as the Scripture admirably expresses it. And, indeed, there is scarce any Vice more pathetically, and more frequently decry'd in those Holy Books. Where we find these very significant Characters given of It ; *The Unrighteous Mammon ; The Thorns which choak the Good Seed of Piety and Virtue ; The Robber, that steals away Mens Hearts and Affections ; The Nets and Snares of the Devil ; The Idolatry, that draws Men off from the Regard and Worship of the True God ; and The Love of Money, which is the Root of all Evil.* And sure, if Men would but turn their Eyes inward, and observe that Rust and fretting Canker of Sins and Discontents, and desperate Anxieties, which *Riches* breed in their Hearts, with the same

Atten-

Luk. xvi.

9.
Matt. xiii.22.
1 Tim. vi.9.
Coloss. iii.5.
1 Tim. vi.

10.

Attention and Diligence, that they gaze upon their glittering Metals with, the Consequence of This must be, that They wou'd then be as much, and as generally hated and despis'd, as now, we see, they are belov'd and admir'd. * *Necessity* wants many Things; *Covetousness* wants every Thing. † The Covetous Man is good to No Body, but worst of all to himself.

Not but that there is another Passion in the contrary Extreme, which is by no means free from Vice neither; and that is, a down-right Detestation, and obstinate Refusal of Riches: For this is refusing the Means and the Opportunities of doing good, and putting it out of a Man's own Power to practise many excellent and very beneficial Virtues. There needs but little Consideration to convince us, that the using Riches as one ought, and getting an absolute Dominion over them, is a Task much more laborious and difficult, than the being content under the Want of them; and a prudent and virtuous Behaviour in Poverty, is more attainable than a steady Goodness in the midst of Plenty. In the former of these Circumstances, a Man hath but One Attack to guard, and may bend all his Forces against That without Distraction; If he can but keep his Courage up from sinking under the Affliction, and maintain his Ground with Constancy and Resolution, he hath done his Business effectually. But the *Temptations of Wealth* and Prosperity are various, I had almost said infinite; and the Duties which are expected from Persons in that Condition, are proportionably so too. There must be *Temperance* in the Use of them; *Moderation* in our Desires; *Liberality* to those that want the Com-

* Desunt Inopiæ multa, Avaritiæ omnia. † Avarus in nullo bonus est, in se pessimus.

forts we enjoy ; *Prudence* in the Choice of fit Objects to exercise that *Liberality* upon ; *Humility*, and *Meekness*, and *Condescension*, and several others, too numerous to be specify'd particularly. The Indigent Man hath only his own *Virtue* to take care of ; the Rich must preserve That, and hath another Task of Action and Distribution to take care of afterwards. He that divests himself of large Possessions, is at leisure for greater and better Things, which mov'd some Philosophers and Christians to do so. He does at the same time disburden himself of a world of Cares and Sorrows, of Duties and Difficulties unavoidable, which attend the Management of himself, first in the Pursuit and Acquisition, then in the Keeping, then in the Using and Dispensing of Wealth. So that upon the whole Matter, (except when done upon a Principle of Charity and Religion) This is only the declining of Sollicitude, and Business, and Trouble ; and when such Men pretend to Resignation, and Magnanimity, and Contempt of the World, I should make no Scruple to tell them very freely, *Gentlemen, You renounce these Things, not because They are advantageous, and you are got above them, but because you know not how to make a right Use of them, and are afraid of the Trouble and Hazard, which those who make it their Business to possess and manage them as they ought, are of necessity exposed to.* For when all is done, though Riches do not deserve our Hearts, and are an Object too low for our Affections, yet they are as much too high for our Disdain. And tho' no Wise Man will suffer himself to be brought into Bondage to them, nor desire them immoderately, nor get them indirectly, nor place his Happiness in them ; yet when the Bounty of Providence hath dealt them to us fairly, and made them our Lot ; in such a Case, what *Seneca* hath observ'd is undoubtedly true,

true, That for a Man not to be able to bear a plentiful Fortune, is not an Argument of his Wisdom, but a Symptom of his Weakness and Littleness of Soul.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Sensuality ; and Carnal Love in particular.

THIS is a burning Fever, and furious Passion ; and the Consequences of it are infinitely dangerous, when a Man suffers himself to be vanquish'd and over-born by it. Such a one is no longer at his own Disposal ; His Body shall endure a Thousand Tortures in Pursuit of Pleasure ; His Mind a Thousand Reproachings and Self-Condemnations : In short, he feels a perpetual Hell, for the Service and Gratification of his filthy Desire ; That Desire, if allow'd, and let alone, will turn to *Rage* and *Madness* ; and yet a great part of this is unavoidable : For Nature hath given us the Inclination ; and that is the Reason why it is common to All, and very strong in the greatest Part of Mankind. The Care incumbent upon Us must be, to keep a strait Hand, and a constant Watch over this Passion ; To check and divert its first Irregularities, and cool those Fires which we cannot absolutely quench : For, if indulg'd, it levels Men with Brutes, stupifies all our Wisdom, baffles our Resolution, confounds our Prudence and Conduct, breaks in upon our Contemplation, hardens the Conscience, blinds the Eyes of the Mind, and disturbs all the Operations of our most noble Faculties. This convinc'd *Alexander* that he was *Mortal* ; and is such another

I.

*'Tis strong
naturally,
and com-
mon.*

Argument of our Frailty, as Sleep is ; for both of them agree in suspending, suppressing, and binding up the Powers of the Reasonable Soul.

2.

The Shame
of it,
w^{is}domence.

Philosophy takes upon it to treat of all manner of Subjects, and uses great Freedom of Expression in doing so ; that so the true Causes of Things may be discover'd, a right Judgment made of them, and proper Rules and Directions given for the governing our selves with regard to them. The same Thing *Divinity* does likewise, which is a Science infinitely more sublime and refin'd, of nicer Honour, and greater Modesty and Reserve. And this Liberty may sometimes be very convenient, nay, very innocent and chaste ; for the Sun shines upon Dunghils without contracting any of the Pollution, or ill Scents, by his Rays that fall there. " But this is a Case that requires
" great Tenderneſs and Caution, and uſually
" Silence is the moſt becoming, and the moſt
" profitable : For one had better altogether conceal and ſuppreſs thoſe Things, which, when
" intended for Good, are yet liable and likely
" to be made an ill Uſe of by moſt of Thoſe
" into whoſe Hands they fall. And highly probable it is, that many Perſons have learn'd to
" be more exquisite in their Vices of this kind,
" by thoſe very Precepts and particular Inſtructions, design'd to teach them how to prevent or
" conquer thoſe Exorbitances ". 'Tis true indeed, Nature by ſtrong Impulſes perſuades to theſe Gratifications ; but yet it is as true, that ſhe teaches us to bluſh, and be out of Countenance at the very Mention of what ſhe is ſo importunate for. Some indeed pretend, that we ought to be aſhamed of nothing that is Natural ; and that this *Affectation* of *Modesty* ſerves only to ſharpener Mens Appetites the more ; That we may as well be aſhamed for the Infirmities
of

of our Bodies, the spontaneous Motions of our Lungs, and Heart, and Veins, and Arteries; our Eating, and Drinking, and Weariness, and Pain, and Sickness, and Dying; all which, like this before us, have their Motions and Intervals, without our Consent or Knowledge; return by certain necessary Causes, and act upon us by unseen Springs; and All, like This too, betray the great Weakness, and indigent State of Humane Nature. Our Brain discharges it self by Defluxions, our Eyes by Tears, our Body by proper Evacuations; our Faces grow red or pale; our Bodies fat and lean; our Hair black, or white, or grey; and we are not concerned in, or for these Things; which yet are no more Natural than This; yet They, or any Discourse of Them, is by no means ignominious or unbecoming, and in the present Case it is. To all which Objections it were sufficient to oppose the general Sense and Practice of all civiliz'd Persons and Countries, who, in Proportion to their being polish'd and refin'd above others, have ever express'd a greater Reserve in educating their Children, in their own Behaviour and Conversation, and in looking upon all such as impudent and profligate, who indulge loose and wanton Discourse; and even They, who are but too much Friends and Slaves to this Passion, choose rather to provoke it by distant mysterious Expressions, and nauseate the Roughness and Rudeness of blunt uncomely Language. But still you will ask, whence this *Shame* proceeds, and how that Custom became so general. The Gratification of these Appetites, I grant you, is not shameful in it self in the least: It is truly and properly Natural; and no Shame is due to it, simply consider'd; for Beasts, 'tis plain, have no Sense of any. But why do I speak of Beasts? The Sacred Oracles of God themselves, have told us ex-

Gen ii. 25.

presly, that This is no Appendage of our Nature ; that while Man preserv'd his primitive Purity, and was in that Condition which was originally and truly Humane, he had no Sense of *Shame*, nor ever blush'd at his own *Nakedness*. Every Work of God is Sacred and Good, and nothing but the Abuse can cast a Blemish upon it. So that in Truth, Shame is only the Effect of Weakness, and that Weakness the Effect of Sin. *Shame* came into the World afterwards, and by Accident ; it was no Part of the Creation, hath no Being in Nature, but is the *Creature* of our own *Wickedness*, and what we have brought upon our own selves, by making the *Workmanship* of God, *Instruments* of Vice and Pollution.

3.
How it is
Vicious.

The true Reason then, which makes this Passion so violently condemn'd and run down, is not from any real Vice or Shame in it, when consider'd abstractly, and in its own Nature ; but from the general Corruption and Inordinacy Men are betray'd into by it. For how very few are there, that have any Regard, to Moderation, or Discretion, or Decency ? What infinite indirect Methods do they use for the gratifying of these Appetites ? What Quarrels and Disturbances, what Wars and Publick Confusions, what Desolation and Ruine have been owing to this accursed Cause, this common, but most fatal Incendiary of Mankind ? In-
somuch that the Wickedness of the Means that introduce these Pleasures, and the long black Train of Consequences they draw after them, are worse a thousand times than the Thing it self : The Expence and Damages are infinitely more than the Purchase is worth. And all these ill Effects are peculiar to Mankind, for other Creatures know nothing of all this Clutter. But Men have used great Industry to trapan themselves : On one side they make Laws to keep them off, urge *Religion*,
and

and *Modesty*, and *Decency*, to restrain their Desires; and yet, on the other hand, they sharpen and inflame them, set all their Wits at work to contrive, to confound, to get over every Thing for the compassing their Desires: Witness *Comedy* and *Poetry* particularly, whose pretended Beauties, even when most Chaste, were chiefly seen in amorous Subjects; but now they have perfectly prostituted themselves to Lewdness, and seem to design nothing so much, as the laughing Virtue and Reserve out of Doors, as if These were the Things we ought most to be ashamed of. But of all others, the most mischievous Corruption of Nature seems to be the setting an extravagant value upon stollen and unlawful pleasures; representing Injuries of this kind as a piece of Gallantry and Accomplishment; and suffering those Methods to be despised and ridiculed, which both Divine and Humane Constitutions have assigned for satisfying Men's Natural Desires, by *Honest* and *Honourable Marriage*.

For Directions and Remedies against this Vice,
consult Book III. Chap. 41.

C H A P. XXIII.

Desires.

THE Sea it self hath not more Waves and Billows, more inconstant nor more furious in their Tossings and Rollings, than the Heart of Man hath Desires. This is a vast and boundless Ocean too, govern'd by Winds and Tides, various and uncertain; it is confus'd and irresolute; sometimes

I.

Desires infinite.

times wicked and detestable, but very frequently vain and ridiculous in its Desires.

2.
Their Dis-
tinctions.

But the first and most necessary part of this Consideration, ought to be a due Care to distinguish them rightly; for this is what they are very capable of. And here you may observe, That some of these are Natural; and they that be so, are just and lawful, and common to Us with Beasts: They are likewise short, and bounded in a narrow Compass; a Man may easily see to the End of them. For These there is abundant Provision, and no Man is poor in this respect. An Occasion of enlarging upon these will present it self more conveniently hereafter; for in truth they do not properly belong to the Subject we are now upon, since, strictly speaking, they are not Passions.

The Others are either beside, or beyond Nature; they have no Foundation in our Frame and Temper, but exist only in our Opinions, and are the Off-spring of Fancy and Imagination; these are Artificially form'd by Industry and strong Impression; they are superfluous too; serve only to gratifie our Humours, not to supply any real Necessities. And if you wou'd have them distinguish'd from the former by a different Name, call them if you please, the *Covetings of the Soul*. These are entirely our own; the Portion or the Scandal of our Species. Beasts are altogether unacquainted with them; Man is the only Creature irregular in his Appetites. These have no certain Mark to aim at, no End where to stop; but are eternally in Motion, run wild and at random, and know not what they would have. * *The Desires which Na-*

* Desideria naturalia finita sunt. Ex falsâ opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent. Nullus enim Terminus falso est. Viâ eunti aliquid extremum est, Error immensus est. *Seneca*

ture suggests, are determined and finite ; but those which arise from Opinion and Whimsie, are infinite ; for Error knows no Bounds. A Man that goes in the Road must come to his Foruney's End at last ; but he that wanders out of the Way, may wander for ever. With regard to These, no Man ever was, none ever can be Rich or Contented. Somewhat constantly falls short, or some fresh Thing is wanting. Of these it is that the Poet speaks,

*Their Stores increase, and yet I know not what,
Still they do something want,
Which neither Pains can get, nor Heaven can grant,
To swell their narrow, to a full Estate.*

Creech,
Horat.
Od. XXIV
Lib. III.

To such wanton Longings of the Soul, the Characters set down at the beginning of this Chapter agree ; and They are what we mean, and are now treating of under this Head of *Passions*. These are the Things we sweat and toil so vehemently for, the gaining what we might very well be without, and the satisfying Desires which we ought not to entertain. 'Tis upon the Account, and for the Sake of These, that we compass Sea and Land ; that we take up Arms, and kill one another ; nay, that Men kill and drown themselves, betray and ruine themselves ; which gave just grounds for saying, that *Coveteousness is the Root of all Evil*. The Matter indeed is sometimes so order'd by Providence, that this inordinate Passion of the Mind should be made its own Punishment ; and while Men are greedy to gratifie their *fantastical Wants*, and glut themselves with the Riches and Pleasures of Fortune, they lose a *real Good*, and cut them-

Scilicet improbæ
Crescunt Divitiæ ; tamen
Curæ nescio quid semper abest rei.

selves

selves off from the Advantages of Nature. Which are so much more valuable than the other, that *Diogenes*, who refus'd the large Present of Money offer'd by *Alexander*, desir'd as a greater Favour, that he wou'd please to stand aside, and not hinder him from the Comfort and Brightness of the warm Sun-shine.

CH A P. XXIV.

Hope and Despair.

TH O S E Desires which are Natural, and these Covetings last mention'd, which are Accidental, and Diseases to the Soul, are cherish'd by *Hope*. This inspires them with Warmth and Strength; this blows up our extravagant Imaginations with a gentle and pleasing Breath; kindles a Fire in our Minds, but raises so thick a Smoak withal, that it quite blinds the Understanding; our Thoughts are lost and bewilder'd, and violently carry'd away with it; it keeps us in perpetual Suspense, and makes us dream with our Eyes waking. As long as ever our Hopes last, we never let go our Desires. But on the other hand, when once *Despair* takes possession of us, the Soul is perfectly put upon the Rack; and the Thought that we shall never be able to obtain what we aim at, is so torturing and violent, that it bears down all before it; and we lose what we stand actually possess'd of, for the sake of somewhat which we apprehend impossible to be possess'd. This Passion is like froward Children, who, when you take away one of their Play-things, throw the rest into the Fire for Madness. It

It grows angry with it self, turns its own Executioner, and revenges its Misfortunes upon its own Head. It refuses to live under Disappointments and Crosses, and chuses rather not to be at all, than to be without the Thing which it hath once imagin'd necessary to its Happiness. And thus you have had a short Account of those *Passions*, which have some *apparent Good* for their Object ; we will proceed in the next place to consider those others, which arise from the Apprehension of *Evil*.

C H A P. XXV.

Of Anger.

Anger is a foolish and a frantick Passion, which puts us quite besides our selves ; and by seeking some means of beating back the Evil, that either approaches and threatens, or hath already reached and fallen upon us, makes the Blood boil in our Hearts, and raises wild and furious Vapours in our Mind ; such as blind and pervert our Reason, and thrust us headlong upon any, tho' never so desperate Attempts, that may contribute to the satisfying those Desires we have of taking Revenge, and doing Mischief upon the Person that gave the Provocation. It is a short Madness, and dangerous, not only for the time it continues, but as it prepares and opens the Way for a lasting Phrensie and Distraction. The Motions of it are so sudden, the Violence so strong, that it overpowers all our other Passions, swallows them up quite, or carries them along with it by the force of its own Torrent.

I.

Description

II.

The

2. The *Causes* from whence it arises are various.
- Its Causes.*
I. *Weakness of Judgment*, which is most remarkable in Women and Children, Aged and Sick People; whom Experience shews to be of all others most fretful and peevish, and easie to be provoked. * *Every thing that is infirm, is naturally disposed to be querulous and froward.* It is a Mistake as great as it is common, to imagine that Fierceness and Rage is an Argument of Courage: for all violent Motions are like the Efforts of old Men and Children, who run when they would walk, and go faster, because they have not Strength enough to go slow. There is not in the World any Thing so feeble as an irregular and unsteady Motion; and therefore *Anger*, which is such in the Mind, is rather a Mark of Infirmary and Cowardise. It is a Distemper in the Soul, which makes it tender and sore, not able to endure Offences; as Hurts and Wounds in the Body render the Smart of every little Blow intolerable. Were it in a State of perfect Health and Soundness, every Trifle cou'd not create so great a Disorder. † *But when all is full of Aches and Diseases, the gentlest Touch is troublesome, and it is always complaining, because always ailing.* A Miser will fume and storm for the loss of a Penny, for the missing of some Advantage which he might have gain'd; A jealous Husband will fall into a Rage for the most innocent Smile of his Wife, or the least
- II. Glance of her Eye. *Luxury and Niceness*, or any particular Fancy, that renders a Man Singular and Humorsom, and Uneasie, is apt upon the least Accident which crosses that Humour, to put him into *Passion*; and || *No one thing* (says a great

* Invalidum omne naturâ querulum est.

† Nusquam sine querelâ ægra tanguntur.

|| Nulla res magis Iracundiam alit, quam Luxuria.

Philosopher) cherishes Anger more than this vain Temper. So again does the being fond of any little trifling Things, not worth our Affection and Concern: A Glass, a Dog, a Bird; This is a Folly that gives us a great deal of Trouble, and often exposes us to most unreasonable Passions; the least of which is more than they can possibly deserve. Another Cause is Curiosity, and a busie inquisitive Temper. * *He that asks too many Questions, is solicitous to disquiet himself*: This is so far from avoiding, and conniving at, that it is seeking Occasions, hunting about, and following the Scent, and with great Eagerness and Pleasure running abroad after Provocations, without having the Patience to stay till They come home to Us. Sometimes indeed (says Seneca) Anger comes to Us, but not near so often as We go to It. Another is Credulity and Easiness, the suffering our selves to be possess'd with the first Account, and the first Chance-comer, and not reserving an Ear free for the other side of the Cause, nor suspending our Belief, till more perfect Information. But the Principal, and indeed the very formal Cause of Anger, is an Opinion that we have been undervalu'd, and ill us'd; That some Word, some Look, (for any thing will serve) carried an Air of Contempt, and was less respectful than it ought to have been. This is always the Argument angry Men lay hold of in their own Justification. " And
 " no wonder then, that proud Men are most
 " Cholerick, and fuller of Resentment than any
 " others, since no other Disposition makes Men
 " think so much their Due, and consequently inclines them to be so jealous of Affronts, and
 " Omissions in point of Respect. For which

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

* Qui nimis inquirat, seipsum inquietat.

“ Reason

Prov.
xiii. 10.
xxi. 24.

“ Reason the Scripture tells us, that *Only by Pride cometh Contention*, in one Place, and stiles it most Emphatically *Proud Wrath* in another.

3.
Signs of it.

The Signs and Symptoms of this Passion are many, and manifest, more and more visible than those of any other; and so Strange and Strong, that they make a mighty Difference in the Person, alter the whole Temper and Frame both of Body and Mind, transform and turn him into quite another Man. Infomuch, that * *it is not easie to say, whether this Vice be more detestable, or more deformed and disfiguring*; Some of these Changes and Symptoms, are outward and apparent: Redness and Distortions of the Face, Fieriness of the Eyes, a wild and enraged Look, Deafness and Insensibility in the Ears, Foaming at the Mouth, Palpitation of the Heart; Quickness and Unevenness of the Pulse, Swelling and Bursting Fulness of the Veins, Stammering in the Tongue, Gnashing and Setting of the Teeth, Loudness and Hoarseness in the Voice, the Speech thick and indistinct; and in short, The whole Body is set on Fire, and in a perfect Fever. Some have been transported to such a Degree, upon these Occasions, that their very Veins have broke, their Urine stopt, and they have dropt down dead, being stifled and strangled with excess of Passion. And what Condition can we suppose their Mind must be in in the mean while, when the Disorders of the Body are so violent and Dismal? *Anger* at the first Brush, quite banishes *Reason* and confounds the Judgment; clears all before it, and takes possession for it self alone; and when it hath got it, then it fills all with Fire and Smoke, with Darkeness and Confusion, with Noise and Clamour; it is like a Robber, or an Enemy, that first drives the Master out of doors, and then sets

* Ut sit difficile, utrum magis detestabile vitium, aut deforme.
Fire

Fire to his House, and that with such Fury and Madness, as to destroy and burn it self alive in the Flames. It is like a Ship that hath neither Rudder, nor Pilot; neither Sails, nor Oars, nor Ballast; but floats about at Random, and commits it self to the Mercy of Winds and Waves; and that, when the Sea rides highest, and the Storms are loudest and most raging. And what can be expected in such a Case, but Strandings and Shipwrecks, when there are so many Rocks on every side, to break her to Pieces, so many Quick-sands to swallow her up, when she thus lets her self drive upon them?

This leads us to consider its Effects, which are, indeed, very great, and, for the most part, exceedingly wretched and deplorable. 4.
Its Effects.

I. For First; *Anger* urges and exposes us to *Injustice*; it takes Fire afresh, and is render'd more violent and fierce, by any Opposition, tho' never so reasonable and fair; and that too, not only by Dispute from others, but even from a Man's own Senses and Reflection, and the being conscious to himself, that he is angry, either without any just Cause, or to a greater degree than the Provocation deserved. When a Man hath thus suffer'd his *Reason* to be shaken and disturbed, let one, with all the Calmness imaginable, offer the clearest Vindication, the justest Excuse, any thing to remove or mitigate this Passion, all is to no Purpose, or to worse than none; for Truth and Innocence are still but more enraging, as *Seneca* observes: In such Cases * *the Unreasonableness of our Passion makes us so much more obstinate and unpersuadable, as if the being very angry, and implacable, were the best Argument that the Ground of our Anger is just.* The Example of *Piso* upon this Occasion is well

* *Pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas iræ, quasi argumentum sit justè irascendi, graviter irasci.*

worth our Observation, and the Story is generally known. He, who was in other Respects eminent for Virtue and Goodness, yet once in Heat of Passion put Three Persons to Death unjustly; and strain'd the Law to bring them in Guilty, only because there had been one proved not Guilty, whom he by a former Sentence had adjudged Guilty. *Anger* is likewise exasperated by *Silence* and *Coldness*, because such Indifference speaks Scorn and Neglect; and when Men see their Resentments make no Impression, they look upon themselves to be slighted and affronted. This is very usual with Women, who oftentimes put themselves into a Passion, purely for the Sake of putting other People into one too; And when they see that a Man does not condescend to be angry, and refuse to heap on more Fuel, they take all imaginable Pains to cherish and blow up their own Fire, and grow perfectly out-ragious. So wild and savage a Beast is *Anger*, so fierce and intractable, that neither Vindications nor Submissions; neither Excusing nor Acknowledging; neither Speaking nor holding one's Peace, can do any good upon it. No foul Means can tame, no fair ones win it over, or make it gentle. The Injustice of this Passion is farther evident, in that it always takes upon it self to be both Party and Judge in the same Cause, in that it expects all manner of People that hear or know any thing of the Matter, should take its Part, and justify its Proceedings; and takes it mortally ill, nay, flies in the very Faces of all that either stand neuter, or in any degree seem to think it in the wrong.

II. A Second Effect of this Passion is *Headiness* and *Obstinacy*, *Rashness* and *Inconsideration*. It drives us forward, and thrusts us down head-long, into unspeakable Mischiefs; and very often draws upon our own Heads the very Calamities we are en-

endeavouring to avoid by being angry ; the very same Sufferings, or many times worse than those, which We in the bitterness of our Malice and Revenge, are so eager to inflict upon others ; and thus, while it punishes an Enemy, it tortures and executes it self. This *Passion* is no ill Resemblance of *Great Ruins*, which crush indeed, and batter whatever they fall upon, but in the same Fall, break themselves to Pieces. *Anger* is so eagerly bent upon the Hurt and Destruction of others, that it fights out of all Guard, and takes no manner of Care to avoid or ward off its own Death. It draws us in, and hampers us in a Thousand Inconveniences ; puts us upon speaking and doing many Things that are base and unworthy, such as by no means become us, and what we cannot but be, at least we ought to be, most heartily ashamed of. To be short ; it transports Men to those Excesses of Extravagance and Rage, that they know not what they do ; ensnares them in the most injurious, the most scandalous Actions ; hurries them into Mischief incapable of any Reparation, Murders and Bloodshed ; Treachery and Villany, Poisonings, and secret Assassinations. Things that leave long and lasting Remorse behind, and such as they cannot but have very afflicting Remembrance of ever after. *Alexander the Great* was a remarkable Instance of this kind ; and *Pythagoras* used to say, that *where Anger ended, there Repentance always began*.

This *Passion* is never to be convinced of *Folly* ; it is big, and always well satisfied with its own Discretion and Justice ; flatters and pleases it self with a Notion, that the Man does well and wisely to be angry ; clears it self from all manner of Blame, and lays the whole Fault upon some ill or indiscreet Thing done, that gave the Provocation. But, supposing another guilty of Injustice, it will

not therefore follow, that my Anger is guilty of none. Suppose I receive Injury from another Hand, will my paying back the same, or a greater Wrong, take off what I suffer? Will it make me any real Amends, or bring any true Profit to me, that another suffers as well as I? The Truth is, *Anger* hath too much of Obstinacy and hair-brain'd Giddiness, ever to do any Good. It pretends to cure one Evil with another; and when we turn over an Offence to be corrected by this Passion, it is no better than setting Vice to chastise and punish itself. *Reason*, which ought always to bear the Sword, and exercise the Supreme Authority in our Breasts, does not desire any such hot-headed Officers to execute her Commands, as do Things upon their own Head, without waiting for Orders. *Reason*, like Nature, works easily and gradually, is sedate and slow; and whatever is violent, is equally foreign, and contrary to both.

But you will say, What! must Virtue then be so tame and soft, as to see the Insolencies of Vice Triumphant, without any degree of Indignation and Concern? Must she be so bound up, as not to take the liberty of being angry, nor dare to make any Opposition against unreasonable and wicked Men. To this I answer. *Virtue* hath its Freedoms, but they are such as are just; it takes, it desires none, that are unfit or unbecoming. It hath Courage too, but this Courage must not be employ'd against it self. Nor must another Man's Ill be converted to its Prejudice and Disturbance. A Wise Man is as much obliged to bear the Vices of Naughty People without Passion, as he is to see their Prosperity without Envy. The Indiscretion of rash and heady Men, must be endur'd with the same Patience and Pity that a good Physician exercises toward his Patients, when they are under the Ravings of a Fever. There is not
any

any one Instance of *Wisdom* more commendable in it self, nor more useful to the general Good of the World, than that of being able to bear with the Follies and Extravagances of other People. For if we do not so, the Consequence will be, that we shall fall into the same Extravagances; and by not supporting Their Follies, we make them our Own.

What hath been spoken here at large of *Anger* in particular, is in great measure applicable to the *Passions* that follow; such as *Hatred*, and *Envy*, and *Revenge*; for these are the same in Substance, and at the Bottom; They are Anger too, but they are somewhat otherwise modified, appearing in different Forms, and cloath'd with different Circumstances.

Proper Advice and Remedies against this Passion, will be treated of, Book III.
Chap. 31.

C H A P. XXVI.

Hatred.

H*atred* is a very odd Passion. It gives us a great deal of unaccountable Vexation, contrary to all the Reason in the World. And yet, What is there more torturing and insupportable, than this Resentment? By It we put our selves perfectly under the Dominion of the Thing we hate; and give it a Power to afflict and torment us. The Sight of it disturbs our Senses, ruffles our Spirits, and makes the whole Body sick and disorder'd: The Remembrance of it raises a Storm in our Minds; and sleeping or waking, fills us with Dis-

quiet and Impatience. The Idea's of such Objects are always hideous and shocking; and we never entertain them without Indignation and Horror, Spight or Grief; some Resentment not easy to be express'd, which puts us beside our selves, and rends our very Heart asunder. Thus we feel in our own Persons, all that Torment we wish another, and undergo the Punishment we think due to Him. He that hateth, is, at this rate, the *Patient*, and he that is hated, the *Agent*. Thus it certainly is to all Intents and Purposes; excepting only, that we think fit to express it otherwise, and deceive our selves with Words, and Names of Things; For it is evident to common Sense, that the *Hater* is in Pain, and the *Person hated* in perfect Ease; perhaps too, in perfect Ignorance of the Matter. But, after all, let us consider and examine this Point a little. What is it that we hate? Men? or Things? Be it the one or the other, 'tis plain we do not pitch upon the right Object. For if any thing in the World deserves to be hated heartily, it is *Hated it self*, and such other Passions, which, like this, breed Discords, and raise Tumults in our Minds, and rebel against that Power, which of right ought to command, and bear an absolute Sway in us. For when our Enemies have done all they can, still neither They, nor any Thing else, but such exorbitant Passions as these, can do us any real and effectual Injury.

*For Particular Directions against this Evil,
See Book III. Chap. 32.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XXVII.

Envy.

ENvy is own Sister to *Hatred*; as like as Two Twins, in their Fierceness and miserable Effects. This is a wild outrageous Beast indeed, more exquisite in Torture than Ten thousand Racks; and of all, that wretched Mankind feels, best deserves the Title of a Hell upon Earth. This lies perpetually corroding and tearing the Heart-strings, and converts other Mens Happiness into an Occasion of our Misery. And how dreadful, how incessant must that Vexation be, which both Good and Evil conspire to aggravate? Of the many ill Effects this Passion hath, That is a very considerable one; That, while Envious Men look awry upon the Prosperity of others, and grudge them Their Comforts; they unavoidably suffer their Own to perish, and slip thro' their Fingers; and have no Pleasure or true Enjoyment in all that the most bountiful Providence does, or can, bestow upon themselves.

Directions and Remedies, Proper for this Evil, will be prescrib'd in Book III. Chap. 33.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Jealousy.

I. **T**HE Nature and the Effects of *Jealousy* have a mighty resemblance to that Passion of *Envy* last describ'd, excepting only that they differ in this one Circumstance: The *Good* of other Men is the Object of our *Envy*; but our *own Happiness* is the Object of *Jealousy*. Some Good, which we are desirous to ingross to our selves, and which we apprehend belongs to Us alone; for which reason we dread and detest the Communication to any Person beside.

2. *Jealousy* is a Disease of the Soul; an Argument of great Weakness; an evil and a foolish Disease, but withal a furious and terrible one: It rages and tyrannizes over the Mind; insinuates it self under the Pretence of extraordinary Friendship and Tenderness: But when it hath gotten Head, and taken Possession, it builds a mortal Hatred upon the Foundation of Kindness. Vertue, and Health, and Beauty, and Desert, and Reputation, which are the Attractives of our Love and Affection, are likewise the Motives and Incendiaries of this Passion; they kindle and minister fresh Fuel to both these Fires.

3. This is *Wormwood* and *Gall* to us: It depraves and embitters all the Sweets of Life; and commonly mingles it self with our most delightful Enjoyments; and these it renders so fower and unpleasant, that nothing can be more uneasy to us. It turns Love into Hatred, Respect into Disdain, Assurance into Distrust: It breeds a most unhappy Curiosity,

Curiosity ; makes us busie and inquisitive to our own Ruin ; desirous and impatient to know what nothing but the Ignorance of, can keep us tolerably easie under ; and what, when we do know, there is no Cure for, but such as makes the Misfortune worse, and more painful. For whither does all this Information tend, but only to bring the Matter out of Darknes and Doubt, into clear and open Day ; to have Demonstration of our own Unhappiness, and to proclaim it to all the World ; to make our selves a publick Jest, and to entail Shame and Dishonour upon our Families ?

Advice and Remedies against this Passion are to be met with in Book III. Chap. 35.

C H A P. XXIX.

Revenge.

THE Desire of *Revenge* is, in the first place, a cowardly and effeminate Passion ; an Argument of a weak and sordid, a narrow and abject Soul ; and accordingly Experience teaches us, that Women and Children, and such others as have manifestly the feeblest Minds, are ever the most malicious, and dispos'd to Revenge. *Brave and Generous Minds* feel little of these Resentments : they despise and scorn it ; either because an Injury, when done to them, does not make any great Impression ; or that the Person who does it, is not thought considerable enough to give them any Disturbance ; but so it is, that they feel themselves above any Commotions of this kind, as the Poet says,

r.

* *A Wretch beneath the mighty Cæsar's notice.*

Hail, and Thunder, Hurricanes and Tempests, and Earthquakes, all these disorderly Agitations, and loud Ratlings, which we see, and feel, and hear, are form'd in these lower Regions of the Air; They never discompose, or in any Degree affect the Heavenly Bodies and higher Orbs; All there is quiet, and constant, and serene; These frail, and corruptible, and grosser Bodies only are they that suffer by them. And thus it is with the Rage and Folly, the Noise and Brawlings, the Impudence and Impotent Malice of Fools: They never shake great Souls, nor carry so far as lofty and generous Minds: An *Alexander* or a *Cæsar*, an *Epaminondas* or a *Scipio*, cannot be mov'd by all that such mean Wretches could do or say: for all truly Brave Men, and these in particular, have been so far from meditating *Revenge*, that, on the contrary, they were remarkable for doing good to their *Enemies*.

2. Secondly, This is a very troublesome and restless *Passion*, full of Heat, full of Smart and Sting; it boils and bubbles in the Breast, and gnaws the Heart like a Viper; distracts the Men infected, disturbs their Enjoyments, takes off the Peace and Comfort of their Days, and breaks the Sleep of their Nights.

3. It is also a *Passion full of Injustice*; for it tortures an innocent Person, and adds Grief and Pain to him, that was wounded and afflicted before. It is properly the Party's Business who committed the Offence, to labour under the Remorse and the Punishment; and all those other ill Con-

* *Indignus Cæsaris Ira.*

sequences

sequences, which the Desire of Revenge unavoidably draws after it. And yet by this, the Suffering and Guiltless Party makes it his Care to load himself with these heavy Burdens, as if the receiving of the Injury were not of it self Affliction sufficient, without such voluntary and studied Aggravations. Thus it happens frequently, (generally indeed) that, while the Innocent and Injur'd is racking himself with the impatient Desires, and the Contrivance of proper Methods for Revenge, the guilty Aggressor enjoys himself in Ease and Pleasure, and perhaps makes the Other's Uneasiness a Jest and a Diversion. But This is only the Beginning of Mischiefs and Injustice; for the Means of putting such Desires in execution are yet infinitely more so; which indeed are of all, of any kinds; Baseness and Treachery, Perjury and Subordination, a secret Stab, or an Ambuscade of Russians; in short, the foulest, blackest, and most Villanous Designs: For one peculiar ill Effect of this Vice is, that it extinguishes all Natural Justice, breaks through all the Restraints of Honour and Duty, and sticks at no Practice, tho' never so foul and detestable, to accomplish its Bloody Intentions.

Lastly. The very Execution of these Designs, is not only painful and difficult; but extremely dangerous: For Experience shews us daily, that he who endeavours to revenge himself, does not effect his whole Wish, nor is in every Point successful: Either he meets with a Defeat, and cannot do the Mischief he wou'd; or, at least he is disappointed as to his own Security and Satisfaction, and suffers the Mischief he wou'd not. He attempts to put out One of his Enemy's Eyes, and at the same time puts out Both his own. He renders himself obnoxious to Justice, and brings Trouble and Danger to all his Friends; is lost to
the

the World, and to his own Quiet ; forc'd to hide and flee from Place to Place, and is every where dogg'd close at the Heels by his own guilty Fears.

5. And after all ; the killing an Enemy, and dispatching him out of the way, may be *Cruelty* ; but it is not properly *Revenge* : For a Man does then only take Satisfaction and Revenge, when he humbles his Enemy, and forces him to Suffering and Submission ; not when he puts him past all Suffering, and out of the reach of his Anger ; the rendering of which Sensible and Painful, is the only End Revenge can propose to it self. Accordingly we see, no Man is so vain and absurd, to fall foul upon a Stone, or a Brute ; because he knows these cannot feel, or cannot consider the Effects of his Rage. In all true Revenge, it is necessary, that the Person who executes it, shou'd receive some Satisfaction in the Pains he inflicts ; and that the Person, on whom it is inflicted, should feel the Smart, and be humbled by the Sorrow, and pay so dear for the Injury he hath done, that he may be made to repent it. But a Man that is killed, is out of any condition of Grief or Repentance ; he is indeed from thenceforth effectually secur'd from all manner of Suffering : Whereas, on the contrary, the Revenger himself continues in a Capacity of both, and oftentimes feels the Weight of his own Displeasure, by a State of fix'd Sorrow and Fear ever after. *Killing* then is only a Betraying of our Cowardise. It is the Consequence of our being afraid, that the Person we intend to punish, shou'd Resent to our Prejudice, and take an opportunity of paying us again in our own Coin. We are willing from these Apprehensions to make an End of him at once, and rid our selves from any future Hazard ; which is indeed to quit our Point, to lose the End of
Revenge

Revenge, and cast a Blemish upon our own Reputation. It is an Artifice, and an act of Caution, rather than of Courage; It is an Intention to make sure Work, and consults our *Safety* much more than our * *Honour*.

* Qui occidit longè, non ulciscitur, nec gloriam assequitur.

C H A P. XXX.

Cruelty.

C*Ruelty* is a most horrid and detestable Vice, a Quality peculiar to Villains and Brutes; so contrary to Nature, that it is distinguish'd by that scandalous Name of *Inhumanity*.

It proceeds from, and indeed is the natural Effect of Baseness and Cowardise: For *Valour* and *Generosity* never exert their Power, except where they meet with Opposition. They have done their Business, and hold their hand, as soon as they find an Enemy subdu'd, and at their Mercy. This was the true Courage of brave old *Romans*, * to *humble the Obstinate, and spare the Vanquish'd*.

But *Cowardise*, which affects a false Greatness, and pretends to Triumphs, which belong not to it, gluts it self with Blood and Massacres, instead of Generous Conquering: And accordingly, we always find, that Carnage and Slaughter, have only Common Soldiers, and the Plundering part of the Army, for its Executioners. And no surer Sign in

† Romana Virtus— Parcere Subjectis, & debellare Superbos.

the World can be given of Men's being timorous Poultrons, than their being fierce and bloody, and void of Pity and Remorse. This is the very Thing that disposes Tyrants and Usurpers to Cruelty; They live always in fear, and never think themselves tolerably safe, till those, that are in any condition of giving them Disturbance, are utterly extirpated; and therefore they lay about them, and fall foul upon every Body, without distinction; neither Age nor Sex can move Compassion, or seem inconsiderable enough to be spared.

** Lavish of Blood the Coward kills; The Brave Holds his relenting hand, and dares to save.*

Sneaking and timorous Dogs bite and tear to Pieces the Skins and Carcasses of wild Beasts, which they run away from, when alive and in the Fields. And what Account can be given, why Civil Wars, and Popular Insurrections shou'd spill more Blood than foreign Engagements? What more probable than This, that the great Ringleaders and Actors in Seditions and Domestick Differences, are the Mobb and Refuse of the People; whereas the Other are begun and fought upon Principles of Honour and Justice, by fair and generous Enemies? When the Emperour *Mauritius* had receiv'd Information, that one *Phocas*, a Soldier in his Army, design'd to kill him, he enquir'd into the Temper and Character of the Man: And upon his Son-in-Law *Philip's* acquainting him, that he was a Cowardly Fellow, the Emperour presently concluded, there was Danger indeed, and that such a one was cut out for Barbarity and Murder. Sometimes, 'tis true, Another Cause may be given for this Quali-

** Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timer.*

ty,

ty, which is an inward Malignity and Spight; a Soul that rejoyces in Mischief, and Feasts upon Blood; such as *Caligula* seems to have been particularly. But it is to be hoped, few such Instances of Depravity are to be found; for indeed they are not Men, but Monsters in Humane Shape.

C H A P. XXXI.

Grief.

GRief is a Sinking and Despondency of the Mind, when dejected by an Opinion of some very great Evils lying heavy upon us. I. Definition of it. It is a very dangerous Enemy, destructive to our Quiet and Comfort; and, if good Care be not taken of it in time, wastes and weakens the Soul, deprives us of the Use of our Reason, disables us from discharging our Duties, and looking after her Business; and in time spreads a Rust upon the Soul, adulterates and deposes the whole Man, binds up his Senses, and lays his Virtues to sleep, when there is most occasion for rowzing and arming them against the Calamity, that subdues and oppresses him. In order to beget in us a becoming Aversion to this Passion, and employing our utmost Strength and Abilities to resist and repel it, we shall do well to consider seriously the pernicious Effects of it, and discover how foolish, how unbecoming and deformed it is; how extremely inconsistent with the Character of Wise Men, as the Philosophy of the *Stoicks* most truly represents it. But This, as Matters are commonly order'd is no such easie Undertaking; for it hath learnt to excuse, and vindicate, and set it self off under the

the specious Colours of Nature, and Affection, and Tendernefs, and Goodnefs ; nay, the Generality of the World are fo far mif-led, that they keep it in Countenance, pay it Honour and Refpect, and think it a Duty and a Virtue ; as if Wifdom and Confcience never appear'd more beautiful than in a Mourning-Drefs.

2.

'Tis Unnatural.

Now in answer to thefe vain Pretences in its Favour, we may obferve firft of all, that This is fo far from being agreeable to Nature, as it wou'd fain be thought, that, on the contrary, it is rather a Matter of Formality, and directly contrary to Nature : which it is very eafie to demonftrate, if Men will lay afide the Prejudices of Custom, and confider it impartially. As for thofe publick and folemn Mournings, (I mean not this to the prejudice of a real, decent, and affectionate Concern) but for the Mournings which are practis'd with fo much Ceremony and Affectation, and were fo by the Ancients heretofore, as well as by the Generality of Mankind at this Day ; Where, I fay, can we find a greater Cheat, a groffer Sham and Banter upon the World ? How many induftrious Impoftures and Hypocrifies ? What artificial Constraints in our Behaviour are fought, and counterfeited, both by the Persons themfelves, who are interefted in the Occafion of them ; and of all the reft that are taken in, and bear a Part in this melancholy Pomp ? And, as if all this were not enough, we refine and improve the Deceit, we even hire Men on purpofe to put on this Folly, to ftand as Mutes, or to make dreadful Lamentations ; to move and heighten a Paffion which ought to be fuppreffed ; to give Groans and Sighs for a Price, fuch as we all know are feign'd and extorted ; to fhed Tears for the Entertainment of the Spectatours, fuch as fall, only when they are feen to do fo, and are immediately dry'd up, as foon as the

Com-

Company retires. And, pray, Where does Nature teach us any thing like This? What can there be indeed more absurd and vain; what does Nature condemn, what does it detest more than such Insincerity? This is nothing but Opinion and Fashion, the Cause and Cherisher of almost all our Passions; the Tyranny of Custom, and vulgar Error, that instructs Men to indulge their Grief in such a formal manner. From hence it is, that, if a Man be not deeply enough affected in his own Person, and cannot furnish a sufficient Proportion of Tears and hanging Looks out of his own Stock, he is thought oblig'd to hire and purchase a Supply from others who make a Trade of it. So that for the satisfying what the World calls *Decency*, we put our selves to vast Expence; which Nature, if we would take her Judgment, is so far from prescribing, that She most freely acquits us of, nay, condemns us for it. Is not this, in Truth, a publick and study'd Affront upon Reason and Common Sense, a Constraint, and a corrupting of Nature, a prostituting and debauching of the Manhood in us, a mocking the World, and making a Jest of our selves; and that for no other purpose, but meerly to comply with the Notions of the absurd Vulgar, which abound in nothing so much as Falshood and Mistake, and admire nothing so much as Counterfeit and Disguise?

Nor are our Private Sorrows much better: For *Private*. These, whatever they may seem, are no more Natural than the former. Did Nature inspire or dictate them, they wou'd be common to all Mankind; they wou'd affect all Mankind almost equally; since All partake of the same Nature, and differ only in some few, some small Circumstances. But here we find very different Resentments: The same Objects, which afflict and grieve some, are

Q

Matter

Matter of Joy and Satisfaction to others ; and what draws Tears and bitter Cries from one Person, and one Country, is receiv'd with great Chearfulness by another. What One does, Another disapproves ; and the Friends of Mourners think it their Duty to exhort, to comfort, to chide them, to beg that they wou'd recollect themselves, call in *Reason* and *Religion* to their Assistance, be Men again, and dry up their Tears. Observe the greatest part of Them who take Pains to afflict themselves ; hear what they say when you have given them this good Counsel ; They will make no Difficulty to acknowledge, that it is a Folly and a Weakness, to be guilty of excessive Passions ; they will commend and call those happy, who can stand the Shock of Adversity, and have so much Government of Temper, and such Presence of Mind, as to meet an Affliction bravely, and bear it steadily, and set a gallant and masculine Spirit in Array against it. Thus they *excuse*, but they dare not *justify* their own Concern ; They say, they cannot help it, and by that Apology, lament, if not condemn, themselves ; for this implies they Wish, and think it were better, if they cou'd overcome their Grief. And, in Truth, the Thing is very plain in these private Mournings too, that Men do not so much sute their Sorrows to their Sufferings, as to the received Notions of those, among whom they dwell and converse. And if we take a close and nicer View, this will discover to us, that *Opinion* is at the bottom of all our immoderate Melancholy ; That our Torment and Vexation proceeds from the false Representations of Things ; and that we grieve, either sooner than we ought, by Anticipation, and Fear, and solicitous Apprehensions of what will come hereafter ; Which, like so many false Perspectives, set the Object nearer our Sight, or else magnify the Bulk

Bulk of it to our Eye, and so make us grieve more than we ought, upon a Supposal of the Calamity being much greater than really it is.

But still all This is contrary to Nature : For 3.
Unnatural. Grief deforms and defaces all those Excellencies, which are most beautiful and lovely in us. These all are blunted and melted down by this corroding Passion, like the Lustre of a Pearl, dissolv'd in Vinegar. And really we are then a miserable Sight, our Head hanging down, our Eyes fixed upon the Ground, our Tongue speechless, our Limbs stiff and motionless, our Looks wild and confused, our Ears deaf and insensible, our Minds void of all Attention and composed Thought. How distant is this from the Beauty, the Dignity, the Majesty of our Original Form and Temper ? Are these *Men* ? You may better call them *walking Statues*, which only sweat forth Moisture at their Eyes ; like *Niobe*, whom the Poets, to represent the Miseries of excessive Grief, have feigned to be transform'd into a weeping Marble.

But it were well, if this Passion, being 4.
Impious
and Unjust. Unnatural, were the worst of it ; I have a yet much more heinous Accusation to charge it with ; For it flies in the Face of God himself, and arraigns his Justice, and Wisdom, and Providence. What better Construction can any Man in Reason put upon our rash Complaints, and outrageous Passions, than a Mind discontented with the Great Governor of the Universe, and his Disposals of Us, and our Affairs ? To murmur and repine at what is done by Him, is to find Fault with Him who does it ; and in an oblique, and little more respectful Way, to charge him with Folly or Hard-dealing. The Law and Condition, which he hath fixed to himself for the Government of the World, is, that all Things in these Sublunary Regions shall be changeable and inconstant, ever in Motion, and

subject to Decays and Death. If then we know this to be their Condition, why do we afflict our selves for that, which is the common Fate of all here below ; for that which could not be new, and should not be a Surprize to us ; what if we did not, yet we might, and ought to have expected ? And if we did not know this, the truest and only reasonable Matter for grieving, is our own most wretched Ignorance. Of a Truth, so evident, so useful, so necessary to be known ; a Truth, that Nature hath graven every where, in Characters so large and legible, that it is impossible for us to go abroad, and not meet it, or to turn our Eyes any way at Home, and not read it. Others, our Selves, and Every thing carry this Inscription. Alas ! we mistake our Post, and Quality. Man's Business here is not to give Laws, but to receive and submit to them. The Administration of Affairs is lodged in higher and better Hands. The Order of the Universe is establish'd ; and We, who are but a very small Part of this vast Body, must follow the Motions of the Whole, and take contentedly what falls to our Share. To fret and vex our selves, is to be concern'd, that Eternal Ordinances are not reversed and dissettled for our Sakes ; that we are not made an Exception to all Created Nature ; which, besides the intolerable Arrogance and Impiety it is guilty of against God, is no less insupportable Folly with respect to our selves ; for it mends not the Matter one whit, but adds Weight to what Providence hath laid upon us already, and makes all our Sufferings double.

5. For we must add too, that it is exceeding *destructive* *destructive*, and of extreme ill Consequence to Men ; The Danger whereof is but the more increased, by its hurting us, under a Pretence of doing us Good. It flatters with false Hopes, and a fair Shew

Shew of Relief ; but in reality aggravates the Misfortune ; and while it professes to draw the Weapon out of our Side, makes the Wound wider and deeper, and thrusts a Dagger into our Hearts. Besides, these Thrusts are infinitely the more difficult to defend our selves against ; because it is a Domestic Enemy that gives them ; One that we cannot run away from, One that is fed and cherished within our own Bosoms, and which we our selves have bred up and given Birth to, merely to be a Vexation and a Punishment to us.

The Effects, indeed, of Grief, are universally mischievous ; they spread themselves quite over the whole Man ; and while they infect, do very much impair every Part of him. As to the External Appearance, it dishonours, and is a Reproach to the Man, by that Deformity, and Change of Countenance, brought upon him by this means. Do but observe, when once Grief enters, how it fills Men with Shame and Confusion, so that they dare no more shew themselves in Publick, nay, so as to shun the Sight and Conversation even of their most intimate Friends, and particular Acquaintance. When once we are under the Dominion of this Passion, the Light it self is offensive, and our great Care is, to seek out some dark Corner, some close Retreat, to crouch, and hide our selves in, far from the Eyes and Observation of every Body. Now what can be the Meaning of all This, but a plain unnatural Confession of its own Indecency, and how much Men ought to be ashamed of what they do at that time ? Is not this evidently to condemn it self ? And would you not be apt to think, this was some Woman caught in Adultery, that runs away, and hides her Face, and takes such Pains not to be seen or known ?

Next to the Person, observe the *Habit*, what strange, uncouth, effeminate Things, the Mourning

ing Weeds are, as if our very Clothes were intended to publish to the World, that Grief utterly destroys, and takes away all that is manly and brave about us ; and, in its room, gives us all the Softnesses and Infirmities of Women. Accordingly the *Thracians* always dress'd Men, when they were in Mourning, in direct Womens Habit ; and a certain Author observes, that Grief enervates Men, and waists their Strength. The old *Roman* Laws, which were the most Noble and Masculine (like the Spirits of those that made and liv'd under them) strictly prohibited all such Effeminate Lamentations, and long indulg'd Sorrow. They thought very truly, that it was a horrible Absurdity for Men to act in Contradiction to Nature and Reason, and thus Un-man themselves. And all the Allowance they were content to make, was only for the first Gush of Passion, while it was fresh, and tender, or surprizing ; For there are Tears, that may be permitted to fall from the Eyes of Philosophers themselves. A Man may keep up the *Dignity* of his Nature, and yet not abandon the *Humanity* of it : This we are bound to preserve, as well as not to debase the other ; and therefore all that those *Roman* Laws, and these Reflections aim at, is, so to temper and get the Mastery over our Passion, that while the Tears fall from our Eyes, Virtue and Wisdom may not fall from our Hearts, at the same time.

7.
Inwardly.

But the outward Fadings of the Beauty, disfiguring the whole Man, and changing his Mien and Air, and Behaviour, so infinitely to Disadvantage ; no, nor yet that corroding Venom, which eats into our very Joints and Marrow, and, as the Wise Man expresses it, *drieth up the Bones* ; these miserable Effects, I say, upon the Body, are not all ; It goes deeper yet ; decays the Soul, breaks all its Rest, confounds and disturbs its Operations, disables

ables and draws off the Man from any Virtuous or Honourable Designs ; palls, and flats his Relish of Goodness, extinguishes the Desire of Reputation, and takes away the Disposition of doing worthily, either for himself, or for any Body else : Nay, it does not only unqualify him for the doing, but for the receiving Good from any other Hand. For even the most prosperous Occurrences are grown insipid, or unpleasant to him ; and Every thing turns sowre upon his Mind, as all kinds of Meat do upon distemper'd Stomachs. In short, Grief embitters a Man's whole Life, and poisons all his Actions.

It may be consider'd with respect to the Degrees of it ; and a Difference ought to be made 8. *Distin-
guished.* between the Greatness and the Extremity of it ; as there should also between that which runs into Excess, and grows ungovernable altogether from it self ; and that which is pushed on, and aggravated by the Suddenness of an Accident. In such a Case, Surprise and Consternation alarms, seizes, transports the Man ; takes away all Motion and Sense, stupifies and turns him into a Stone, like that wretched Mother *Niobe*,

** Her curdled Blood, ran backward at the Sight,
And pale numb'd Limbs, a shivering Horror took ;
She stiffens into Statue with the Fright,
At last her faltering Tongue, long Silence broke.*

And in these Cases, great Allowance is to be made for Natural Affection ; upon which account that Painter is admitted to have understood his Business well, who, when he was to draw *Iphigenia* going to be sacrificed, represented the several Po-

* *Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.*

tures and Countenances of her Mourning Friends, and more distant Relations, with great Curiosity, and Artifice ; but when he came at last to her Father, he cast a Veil over his Face. Thus wisely covering that Sorrow, which no Pencil could sufficiently express. But Grief, as it often exceeds the Power of Art and Representation in the Copy, so sometimes it is too strong for the Original ; too grievous to be born, and kills the Man outright. This finds no Vent ; But that which is moderate, or indeed, that which is very great, wears off by Tract of Time, by Diversion, and Business, and other Avocations of the Mind ; And that which helps This forward, is, that it expresses and eases it self by Tears, and Sobs, and Sighs, and sad Complaints ; all which are some Mitigation to the Suffering Party, and much more comfortable than Insensibility and Silence.

** Slight Sorrows find a Vent, and Words command ;
The Fierce boil inward, dumb and stupid stand.*

Directions and Helps against this Evil, are
given Book III. Chap. 29.

** Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXII.

Compassion.

WE mingle Sighs and Tears with those that are in Affliction ; we feel, in some Degree, their Misfortunes, and take Part in their Pains. Whether it be, from some secret Sympathies in Nature, whereby the Sentiments of one Man are conveyed to, and produce the like in another ; or whether it be from sad Presages, by which we are apt to fear, that, whatever our Neighbours suffer now, may happen to be our own Case another Day.

Now, This (so far as it is Vicious) is the Passion of a Weak Mind ; A Foolish Pity, that proceeds from too much Tendernefs, and from an Indisposition in the Soul, whereby it is apt to be vehemently disordered, and fall into great Troubles upon slight Occasions. Hence Women and Children are most affected with it ; and so are the Cruel and Spightful too (who, as was said before, are always cowardly and fearful :) for these, tho' they know nothing of that Noble and Generous Compassion, which is a Virtue ; yet of this Vicious One, they have their Share. Such (for Instance) as express mighty Concern for Villains and Malefactors, when they endure the Punishment of the Law, and smart for their Faults. Now, the Effects of such a Pity are very Unjust, and so are the Causes of it too ; for to spare the Guilty, is to injure, and endanger the Innocent ; and all that Tendernefs, proceeds only from superficial Appearances, and want of Thought, which looks

no

no farther than just the present Circumstances of the Suffering Party, without any Regard at all had to the Merits of the Cause, and how Reasonable it is, that such Punishment should be inflicted upon him.

Concerning This, see more Book III. Chap. 30.

Where you have likewise the just Distinction, between the Virtuous, and Vicious Compassion; omitted here, to avoid Repetitions.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Fear.

I.
*Description
of it.*

FE A R is the Apprehension of some Evil to come, which stands over us, and keeps us perpetually in Awe; it fills us full of Anxious Thought, and very Officiously runs before, to give Notice of the Calamities, which Fortune threatens us with.

We are not speaking at present, concerning that *Fear of God*, so highly recommended in Holy Scripture; so exceeding Useful and Necessary a Check upon Men's Minds, in Order to a Good Life: Nor is this Chapter to be understood, as if it related at all to that anxious and tender Concern, which proceeds from Affection and Duty; or such as makes a Part of that Obedience and Respect, due from Inferiours, of all Sorts, to their Superiours; but only of that troublesome, and tormenting Passion, which is the Spawn of Sin, and Shame, and a disordered Mind. For these Terrours, entered the World, at the same Instant with Guilt, and Reproach; and are the wretched Off-Spring, of the Corruption of our Souls, and a secret Familiarity with the Devil. It was upon yielding to his wicked Sug-

Suggestions, that our General Ancestor first discovered these misgiving Horrors upon his Conscience, *I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid my self.* Gen. iii. 10.

It is a Passion full of Fraud and Malice; and, indeed, can never hurt, or gain Advantage over us, except when we are cheated, and seduced by it. It makes use of the Time to come, which we can have no manner of Insight into; so throwing us into a Place of Darkness; and making the same Use of Futurity, which Thieves do of the Night; (which is, to compass their Designs undiscover'd, and to scare and terrifie us much more, than the Occasion requires.) When it hath got us there, it puts on a Thousand several Vizors, and represents our Misfortunes under the most frightful and gashly Forms imaginable: Thus we are cheated again, as Children are with Fancies and Bugbears; and dread those Evils in variety of Shapes, which can have in reality but one Face; Evils which have nothing in their own Nature, capable of doing us any Hurt; and such as would not be Evils to us, if we did not call and believe them so. It is nothing else, but merely the Apprehension we have of things, which renders those Accidents Evils, that in themselves are no such Matter. And This is so Powerful, and so Pernicious, that it turns our very Good into Evil, and from our Prosperity takes Occasion to afflict, and make us Miserable. How many Wretches, do we see every Day, Wretches of their own making? who actually become Unhappy for the very Dread of being so, and have improv'd their Empty Fears, into Solid and Substantial Miseries? How many People have lost their Friends, merely through Distrust, and not daring to make Use of them? And how many have made themselves sick, with the very Terrors and Apprehensions of Sickness? Here is a jealous

2.

The Malice
and Tyranny
of it.

lous Coxcomb, that fancies his Wife hath played him-Foul, and teazes himself into a Consumption, till he pines and droops into his Grave, with this tormenting Suspicion. Another anxious Fool is afraid of falling into Poverty, and he racks himself into a Disease ; and dies, for Fear of not having enough to live upon. Nay, there are several, who have been kill'd with the very Fear of Death ; and that you may not think this so very odd, let me observe to you, that something like it happens every Day in most, if not in all the Objects of this Passion. Our *Fear*, generally serving to very little Purpose, otherwise than the drawing down upon our Heads, the very thing we pretend to run away from. Undoubtedly no Calamity whatsoever, is near so great, or grievous to be born, as the Fear of it. For other Evils can hurt us only while they have a Real Existence, and are actually upon us ; when the Cause is removed, the Effect and the Pain immediately cease. But *Fear* is not so confin'd ; it extends to Things that have no Being, as well as to such as have ; nay, to things which neither are, nor perhaps ever will be ; and, that we may be assur'd, there is no End of its Extravagances, it fixes sometimes upon things which we may be very confident never can be. So very ingenious is this Passion to torment us, so malicious and spiteful, so merciless a Tyrant ; it extracts real and cutting Pains out of Shadows ; and refines upon Imaginary Evils, till it consolidates, and makes them weighty ones : And for those which minister some Ground for Fear, it is wonderful busie, and troublesomely officious ; it takes Post, and brings us News, which it were better not to hear ; for it creates imaginary, and anticipates all our actual Sufferings, by Opinion and Expectation.

Fear does not only fill us with dreadful Impressions, and oftentimes disturb our Repose with false Alarms; but, which is worse, it taints and destroys all our Happiness, breaks in upon our Quiet, and checks all our Delights. No Man can be easie, or take pleasure in the Enjoyment of a Blessing, which he is in perpetual fear of losing. Life it self cannot be a Satisfaction to a Man that lives in dread of Dying: And One of the Ancients hath observ'd very truly, That no Advantage can minister true Joy to us, which we have not such a Mastery of, as to be prepared to part with it, whenever Providence shall demand it back again.

It is wonderful to observe the Folly and Imprudence of this Passion; for indeed it excels all others in Rashness and Indiscretion. It arises sometimes from want of Courage, it is provoked by a Prospect of Dangers; and yet it frequently doubles our Difficulties, and exposes us to greater Dangers: For it makes us eager and impatient to deliver our selves from them; and thus it casts us into Confusions and Amazements, perplexes our Judgment, blinds our Understanding, and hinders us from discerning, and taking the proper Methods of getting out of the Labyrinths we are in. It distracts us with Terrours, and drives the Mind back again into it self, where the Violence of its Passion interrupts the Debates, and overlooks those very Opportunities of escaping, that offer themselves. Add to this, the great Dejection and Discouragements, which will not let us dare to do what we ought, for our Safty; we lose our Reason, and the Resolution to use it; we flee when no Man pursues, start and tremble at our own Shadow; nay, flee from that which is our best and only Sanctuary, run away from our Friends, and ap-

apprehend Destruction from them which advance to our Relief. * *Our very Succours strike new Terror into us.* Some have been transported with this Passion, even to the degree of perfect Stupidity; the Senses are put besides themselves, and lose the power of discharging their Duty; our Eyes are broad open, and yet we see not; Men discourse to us, and we hear not a Word they say; we attempt to run, and make our Escape, but stand fixt like Statues, and cannot move a Step.

5. This Passion, when moderate, adds Wings to our Feet; but when extreme, and in excess, it nails and fastens us down, or entangles and confounds us in our Flight. Thus *Fear* supplants our Natural Powers, depraves and disables the whole Man, enfeebles Body and Mind, baffles our wisest Designs, and banishes Thought.

|| *Amazement bore up my erected Hair;
Nor cou'd my stammering Tongue express my Fear.*

Sometimes it makes Men desperate; and so, that the giving all for lost is for their great Advantage; for it inspires them with Resolutions of selling their Lives as dear as they can, and puts them upon doing Wonders. An Instance whereof we have in that *Roman* Legion commanded by *Sempronius*, in their Engagement against *Hannibal*.

* Adeo etiam auxilia pavor formidat.

|| Obstupui, steteruntq; comæ, vox faucibus hæsit.

† *Despair*

† *Despair and Rage broke thro' th' extreme Distress ;
Cou'd they have hop'd, their Safety had been less.*

There are also some Fears and Terrors, with which Men have been strangely possessed without any visible ground ; as if they were Thunder-struck from above ; or God by a particular Providence had determin'd to infatuate and dispirit them, in order to their Destruction. These sudden Amazements are what we commonly call *Panick Fears* ; and we read, that the City of *Carthage* was once thus seiz'd with Confusion ; for such are not always confin'd to single Persons, or small Numbers ; but whole Nations and vast Armies have been universally seiz'd, and unaccountably struck with them. And our Blessed Saviour instances in this, as one of the Judgments sent from Heaven upon the wicked *Jews*. *Men's Hearts Luke xxi. failing them for Fear.*

*Particular Directions and Remedies against
this Passion, will be given in Book III.
Chap. 28.*

† *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. Virg. En. 2.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXIV.

The Second Way of considering Man; which is, by stating the Comparison between Him, and other Animals.

I.
A useful
but diffi-
cult Com-
parison,
such as
Man is
partial in.

Hitherto we have consider'd *Man* entire, and with regard to *Himself* alone: The next Step, by which we propose to advance in the Knowledge of him, is by stating a Comparison between Him and other Animals; and This is a very excellent help toward making a right Judgment in the Case. Now this Comparison is of large extent; it consists of many Branches, requires great Skill, and wou'd prove of mighty Benefit and Consequence, if well and truly made: But the Question is, Who must make it? Shall Man? He is a Party in the Cause, and liable to very just Exception; for it is much to be fear'd, when the *Issue* is his own Concern, the *Verdict* will not be honest. And accordingly we see, how partial and unfair he is in all he says of Himself; for he knows no Mean, he proceeds with no Moderation, but is eternally in Extremes. Sometimes he is big, and pleas'd with Himself; looks down upon the lower World with Disdain; and calls himself the *Lord of all the Creatures*; divides their Morsels among them, and cuts out for each Species, such a Proportion of Faculties, and natural Power, as his Lordship vouchsafes to allow them: At other times, instead of all his Gaiety and Pride, you find him full of black Discontent and then he debases himself as much, murmurs and frets, grum-
bles

bles and complains, gives Providence hard Words, and calls Nature a cruel Step-mother, that hath made him the Refuse of the World, the most wretched of all her Productions; and dealt to Him the least and lowest Portion of all her Children. Now, in truth, both the one and the other of these Opinions are equally false, unreasonable, and extravagant. But what can we expect better from him? Or how is it to be thought, he shou'd carry himself evenly and fairly, and act justly with other Creatures, when he is, as we shall shortly see, so infinitely out of all measure, in his Notions towards God, his Superior; and Man, who is his Equal? But, besides this Byass upon his *Judgment*, there is another Difficulty upon his *Understanding*: For which way shall he get a competent Knowledge of the inward Powers, and unseen Motions of other Animals? So that if he were inclin'd to be Just, and to hear the Evidence impartially, yet he must needs be an improper Judge, to whom the most material Part upon which the Sentence ought to be grounded, cannot be given in Evidence. And such are those inward Operations of Brutes, which we can have no certain or competent Perception of. However, we will try at present to state this Comparison as evenly and calmly as we can possibly.

Now, First, we are to consider, that the Order and Constitution of the Universe is not vastly unequal; There are no great Irregularities, nor large void Spaces in it; nor such Unlikeness and wide Disproportion between the several Parts that go into this Composition, as some People may imagine. The Excellencies of the several Species rise and fall gradually; And those, whom Nature hath placed near, or close to one another, have all of them a mutual Resemblance; tho'

some have more, and some have less of it. And thus we may observe a near Neighbourhood, and close Affinity between Mankind and other Animals. They are a-kin in many Things, and several Properties are alike and common to both. Several Things indeed there are, wherein they differ; but these are not so vastly disproportionate and distant, but that they still are next adjoyning Links, twisted within one another, in the great Chain of the Universe. So that Man is neither in all respects superior, nor inferior in all. *For that which befalleth the Sons of Men, befalleth Beasts; even one thing befalleth them both; says the Wisdom of God himself. (Eccles. iii. 19.)*

3. We will begin with those Things which are common to both, and very near the Matter of being alike in both; such as *Generation, Nutrition, Motion, Action, Life and Death*. For (says the same Divine Wisdom) *As the one dieth, so doth the other; so that a Man (in this respect) hath no Pre-eminence above a Beast*. And This is a Confutation of those foolish repining People, and all their melancholy Complaints, that represent Man, as the only Creature, whom Nature hath discountenanc'd and disgrac'd, abandon'd and forsaken; turn'd naked into the wide World, and cast upon the bare Ground; without any Covering, without any Natural Weapons to shelter or defend him; bound up, and swaddel'd; and utterly ignorant and unfurnish'd of what is fit for him: Whereas to all Others she hath been much more bountiful; Clothed them with Shells, or Hair, or Wool, or Shag, or Feathers, or Scales; Armed them with Tusks, or Horns, with Bills, or Claws, or Talons, to act offensively or defensively, as occasion requires; qualify'd them, without any Help of Art or Industry, for Swimming, Running, Flying, Singing, Looking out for Food, and Sustaining themselves. But *Man*, poor neglected

neglected Man, (they tell you) is Taught to Go, Taught to Speak ; nay, requires Help and Teaching for the very Feeding and Supporting himself, and attains to nothing without Time and Trouble, and serving an Apprenticeship. In short ; He is perfect in no other Instance of Nature's Teaching, except that of Crying : This is all we bring into the World along with us ; and a very fit Emblem it is of our Fortune and Condition. Now all these melancholy Complaints, which make disadvantageous Reflections upon the Original Composition of Mankind, and that which is truly the State of Nature ; are altogether unjust and false. For first, our Skin is sufficiently fortify'd against all the Injuries of Weather ; and so *Nakedness* is no Argument of our being less Nature's Care, than any other Creature. Several Nations, (as I have observ'd heretofore) never yet so much as knew what Clothes are ; and even We that do, can go bare in any Parts, even the tenderest and most sensible ; when Inclination, or Custom, or some particular Fashion, dispose us to it. For where of all our Body is the Sense quicker, than in the Face, the Hands, the Stomach ? And yet what Lady, even the nicest and tenderest of her Sex, scruples to expose her Neck and Breasts, (when the Mode requires that Dress) even in the Extremity of Winter ? Swathes and Rollers may be convenient, but tis plain they are not necessary in Children ; for the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore made no use of them ; nor do the *Swisses* and *Germans* that dwell in cold Countries ; nor *Biscans*, nor those Vagabonds and Common Cheats, that go by the Name of *Gypsies*, use them at this Day. Weeping is by no means peculiar to Mankind ; Beasts have likewise their Share in it : Some of them shed Tears ; and much the greatest Part of them Cry, and Complain, and Bemoan

1. *Nakedness.*
Chap. XIV

2. *Swaddling Clothes.*

3. *Weeping.*

themselves continually, for some time after their
4. *Weapons.* coming into the World. As for *Weapons*, Nature hath not been wanting in her Provision for Us too; and she hath given us besides, greater Opportunities of using them; For the Muscles and Motions of our Limbs are more in Number, and of a more useful Variety; and These too we are capable of receiving greater Service from, without any Instruction at all, than any other Animal whatsoever: Or if some few are better provided in this respect, we have the Advantage of many others. Nor do we need any Teaching in
5. *Eating.* point of *Eating*; We and They are equally fitted, equally dextrous and ready at it by Nature: Who makes any Question, but a Child wou'd look out sharp for Meat, as soon as he is strong enough to feed himself? And Meat the Earth produces for our Purpose; there wants neither Quantity nor Variety to supply our Necessities, whether we improve it by Art and Labour, or not: Of which several Nations are a Proof, who live in great Plenty, without contributing any Tillage, or Care, or Industry of their own, toward their Subsistence. As for *Speaking*, allow-
6. *Speech.* ing that to be the Effect of Art, and not of Nature; yet it is certain too, that if it be not natural, it is not necessary neither. But yet This may be reckon'd among those Things that are given in common to Men and Beasts both: For what other Name but *Speaking* can we give to that Faculty of expressing themselves, which we see they have upon all Occasions; those Significations of Pain, and Grief, and Joy; the Methods of Summoning one another together, and asking mutual Succours; their Arts of Courtship and Flattery, and making Love? And as We sometimes speak by some particular Gestures, the Motions of our Eyes, or Head, or Hands, or Shoulders; (Arts in

in which Dumb People are exquisitely perfect, and practise even to Astonishment) so do Beasts likewise converse with one another: And even Those of them that have no Voice at all, maintain an Intercourse of Good Offices, and ask and return them as Occasion serves. As Beasts understand Us in some degree, so do We in part understand Them: They flatter and sooth us; they threaten and give us warning; they call, intreat, and express their Want of our Help: We speak to Them, and They to Us after their manner; and if we understand but imperfectly, whose Fault is it? Theirs or Ours? This is what none of us can certainly tell, and somewhat may be said for either Side. They, for ought we know, may think as meanly of Us upon this Account, as We commonly do of them. * But in this how-^{Note.} ever they are a Reproach to us, that in the present Condition of Humane Nature, we do not understand one another. Our almost next Neighbours, remoter Provinces in the very same Country, have Dialects so different, that they do not comprehend each other at all; Whereas They are all perfectly well acquainted with the Idioms,

Note. * "Here we have just Occasion to make a Distinction which I shall shew to be necessary, Chap. XXXVII between Defects Natural and Accidental: For of the Latter sort is That of Men's being unintelligible to each other; This Confusion of Languages having been no Part of our Original Condition: For we have infallible Assurance, that the whole Earth was once of one Speech. So that what was inflicted as a Punishment for a Crime, (as This is expressly affirm'd to be, Gen. XI) cannot in any fair Reasoning, make a Branch of the Comparison, between the Nature of Man, and that of Brutes. Nor, indeed, even in this Condition, (thus debased and punished as we stand) will the exquisite Easiness of expressing Our Thoughts, and the wonderful Powers of Humane Voice, endure to be compared with the wild and inarticulate of Weak Sounds of any Brutes whatsoever, tho' most excellent in their kind. See Chapter

7. Mutual
Correspon-
dence.

not only of their own Kind all the World over ; but (which is a great deal more) with those of Kinds different from their own. The Horse knows how to distinguish the Barkings of a Dog ; that one sort of Tone imports Mischief, and Danger, and a malicious Design ; and that another is innocent and safe, and intends him no Hurt at all. Nay, I add, that they do not only maintain a Correspondence among Themselves, but with Us also. In Wars and Engagements, Elephants, Dogs, Horses, understand as well as We : They conform all their Motions to the Word of Command ; They Run, or they Stand still ; they March, or they Halt ; they Pursue, or they Flee ; they Charge, or they Retreat, as we wou'd have them ; They receive Pay and Subsistence ; they have a Part in the Victory, and a Share in the Booty ; as we see particularly they had in the late Conquest of the *Indies*. And thus much may suffice to be observ'd concerning those Things which Nature hath distributed both to Men and Beasts in common ; and that with so even a Hand, that there is no great Disparity on either side.

4.
Differences
and Ad-
vantages.

On Man's
side.

The Particulars wherein these two differ, and have the Advantage of one another, come next under our Observation. Now Some there are, in which Man does manifestly excel, and no Animals whatsoever can pretend to equal, or to be like them ; and Others again there are, in which Beasts have the upper-hand of Us. The Divine Wisdom so ordering the Matter, that the several Parts of the Creation should be so nicely interwoven, so closely connected, that Each should have some Pre-eminence peculiar to it self ; and from All together, shou'd result the perfect Harmony, and uninterrupted Order, of One most compact and beautiful Whole. The plain and indisputable Privileges of Man, are the Noble Faculties of his Soul ;

Soul ; The Penetration, Sprightliness, and Comprehension of his Mind, exerted in the Fruitfulness of his Invention ; the Subtlety and Solidity of his Judgment ; the deliberate Determination of his Choice ; Speech to communicate his Thoughts freely, to make known his Wants, to ask and to offer Assistance ; the Hand, a ready Instrument to execute whatever his own Invention shall suggest, or the Instructions of others shall dictate, or their Performances prescribe for his Imitation ; The Majestick Form of his Body ; the great Variety of Movements he is qualify'd for ; from whence it comes to pass, that his Body, and the several Parts of it, are much more serviceable to Him, than those of any Creatures else can be to Them.

But still Beasts have Their Advantages too, as evident and unquestionable as Ours ; and of those some are General, and others Particular : The General are these ; Health, which in Them is much more confirm'd, and less interrupted, than it ever is in Men ; their Constitutions more robust ; their Natural Defects and Imperfections very rarely to be observ'd. Whereas Men are weak and tender, easily diseas'd ; blind, and lame, and deaf oftentimes from the Birth. The open Air never does them Injury ; They are subject to no Rheums, or dangerous Colds, with which most of our acutest Distempers begin, and many of them have no other Cause ; Moderation in their Desires and Actions, which are bounded by Convenience, Innocence, and Security ; perfect Ease and Tranquillity ; for this must needs attend a Life void of all Fear and Guilt ; Full Liberty and Confidence in Matters that are Natural and Lawful, without any Restraints of Shame, or Fear of Discovery ; A total Exemption from infinite Vices and Exorbitances ; no Superstition to enslave them ; no

5.
Advantages of Beasts.
General.

Ambition, or Avarice, or Envy, to disturb, to torment them ; no uneasy Fancies, and affrighting Dreams to afflict and confound them : These are the Portion of all Animals in common.

Particular.

- I. Of those that are Particular to some sorts only, We may reckon the pure, clear, wholesome, lofty, delightful Dwelling, which the Birds enjoy, by having the Regions of the Air assign'd them.
- II. The wonderful Perfection they attain to in some Arts : For what Art or Labour, even of the most celebrated and accomplish'd Masters, cou'd ever pretend to compare with the *Swallows*, and some other Birds, in Building ; or with the *Spider* in Spinning and Weaving ; or with the *Nightingale* in Musick ; or with some other Creatures in Knowledge of Plants and Physick ? Some astonishing Effects, and peculiar Properties, that are inimitable, unaccountable, nay, incredible : Such as that of the Fish call'd *Remora*, because, tho' small it self in Comparifon, yet it stops the largest Ships in their Courfe : Instances of which History gives us, in the Vessel that rode Admiral of *Mark Anthony's* and *Caligula's* Fleet : That of the *Cramp-Fish*, which benumbs People's Limbs at some distance, and tho' they never touch him : That of the *Hedge-hog*, which hath a Fore-knowledge of the Winds : And that of the *Cameleon* and *Polyus*, in changing Colours, and taking a fresh Tincture, according to the Things they rest upon.
- III. Their strange Prognostications ; of Birds, for Instance, in their leaving one Country, and going into another, according as the Weather, and Seasons of the Year change : That of all Beasts that are Dams, in knowing which of all their Young will prove the best ; for when they are driven to Straits, and put upon preserving them from Danger, they constantly save the best first. In all these Respects Man is much inferior to Beasts ;
- IV. and

and in some he is so far from being equal, or near, that he is in no Degree like them. To all which might be added, That other Advantage, which consists in the length of their Lives ; the Term of some Animals, in the ordinary Course of Nature, extending to a Number of Years, Seven or Eight Times as much as that of Man.

The Advantages, which Man lays claim to above Brutes, but which will admit of some Dispute, and perhaps, upon a stricter Examination, would tempt an Impartial Judge, to give it on the other side, are several. First, The *Reasonable* and *Intellectual Faculties* of his Mind ; the Power of comparing, considering, arguing, collecting ; Learning, and Improvement ; Judgment and Conduct. Now Two Objections may be offered in Bar to this Claim ; the One relating to the Thing it self ; the Other to the real Worth, and Benefits of it. First, It is not out of all Dispute, whether the Matter of Fact, set forth in this Claim, be True ; that is, whether Men have these Excellencies peculiar to themselves. It hath ever been, and ever will be, a Point in Controversie, whether Brutes have none of these Spiritual Powers ; and that Opinion, which holds the Affirmative, and maintains they have, is supported with greatest Authorities, and seems to carry a greater Appearance of Truth. The most Celebrated and Learned Philosophers have declared for it ; No less than *Aristotle*, and *Galen*, and *Porphyry*, and *Plutarch*, *Democritus* and *Anaxagoras*. The Reason, upon which they ground that Assertion, is this ; That the *Brain* is the Particular Organ, the part of the Body, employed by the Soul, in the Acts of Ratiocination ; and that the Composition of the Brain, is exactly the same in Brutes, as it is in Men ; and from hence they conclude, that the Instrument of Reason, is as apt and capable in one of these Creatures, as it is in the other.

6.

Advantages that may be disputed.

I.

Reasoning.

Qu. Whether Brutes partake of it.

other. The Difficulty then will be, whether the Souls be equally capable, of using this Instrument to such Purposes; and for This, they offer Experience; That Brutes conclude *Universals* from *Singulars*; as, from the Sight and Form of One Man, to know the same Humane Form in All Men; That they are able to compound, and to divide Ideas, by assenting and refusing; and that they exercise a Power of Choice, and make very subtile Distinctions between *Good* and *Evil*, in such Cases as concern the Life, the Liberty, and Preservation of Themselves, and their Young. Nay, they pretend, that any Man, who observes with Attention, may read and discover several Strokes and Footsteps of *Reason*, more Bold, more Judicious, more Nice, more Ingenious and Cunning, than the common sort of Men are used to give us Proof of. Some of the most memorable Actions, from whence this Conclusion hath been made, I will briefly recite. The *Fox* designing to pass over a River, when it is frozen, lays his Ear close to the Ice, to hearken if there be any Noise, and whether the Water run underneath; that from thence he may form a Judgment, whether it be Safe to proceed, or Necessary to retire. And this Expedient the *Thracians* are said to make use of, when they have any frozen Rivers to pass. The Hound, in Doubt which Way his Master, or the Game he is in chase of, went, at a Place where Three Paths meet, takes this Course of making out his Loss; he scents the several Paths, one after another, and when he finds that in Two of these Ways, no Scent hath lain; he never troubles himself to lay his Nose to the Third; but springs forward, and takes That without farther Enquiry. *Thales* the Philosopher's Mule, when heavy loaden with a Sack of Salt, and being to go over a Brook, stoop'd down to dissolve his Salt, and so make his Burthen lighter; because
he

he had found once before, that the Salt was lighter, when it fell into the Water by chance : but when loaden with Wooll, he did the direct contrary, and strove to keep it dry ; because the like Experiment had taught him, that Wooll grows heavier by being wetted. *Plutarch* says, That once on board a Ship, he saw a Dog casting Stones into a great Jar, that so he might make the Oil in it rise higher ; which before was too low, and out of his reach : And the like is reported of the Crows in *Barbary*, when the Water is too low for them, to drink at. Thus *Elephants*, when one of them is set fast in a Bog, are said to bring great Stones, and pieces of Timber, to help their Fellows out. The *Oxen* in the King's Gardens at *Suza*, which have been long practised to turn a Wheel a Hundred Times Round, (the Depth of the Well requiring just so much, from whence Water is drawn, for the Use of the Gardens) cannot be made to exceed that Number of Rounds ; and when left to themselves, never come One turn short. Now what Way are all these Things possible to be done, without Reasoning and Discourse ; Composition and Division, which are the Operations proper to a Rational Soul ? Must not a Man be thought to want Reason himself, who thinks it hath nothing to do in such Actions ? So again ; The marvellous Dexterity of drawing Darts and Spears out of wounded Bodies, with very little Pain to the Patient, for which *Elephants* are Famous. The Dog mentioned by *Plutarch*, that at a Publick Entertainment, lay upon a Scaffold, and counterfeited himself dead ; fainting away by degrees, breathing short, trembling, stretching himself out, and letting them drag him about as quite dead ; then by degrees coming to himself again, lifting up his Head, as if he had just been brought to Life : And in a Word, the many Strange, Apish Tricks that

that Jugglers and Strowlers teach their Dogs, and Dancing-Horses. The many Doubles, and cunning Contrivances, that Beasts of several kinds have, to secure themselves from the Attempts we make upon them; The great Forecast, and wise Management of the *Ants*, in drawing out their Grains of Corn to sweeten in the Air, and dry by the Sun, which would otherwise corrupt, and grow musty: The nibbling off the End of every Grain, which would else be grown, and run to Seed: The Order of the *Bees*, in their Republick; the Method of their Combs; the vast variety of Offices and Duties appropriated to such and such respectively; and the constant Regularity and Uniformity of all their Proceedings, will not suffer us to think, that these are no more than animated *Clock-Work*; but seem in many Things to equal, and in some even to reproach the Conduct of Mankind.

7.
Natural
Instinct,
rejected.

In Order to overthrow all This, some have been very Ill-natur'd to these Brutes, and take Sanctuary in *Natural Instinct*, as a sufficient Solution, and Cause of all these wondrous Effects; And This they describe by an Inclination in Nature, which is under as perpetual Necessity, Slavery, and Constraint; as That by which the Stone falls, or the Flame ascends. Now First, This is so far from Truth, that one would wonder, how it could ever enter into any Man's Head: For the fore-mentioned Acts, plainly infer reckoning and summing up Particulars, comparing of Things together, and reasoning by Composition and Division of Idea's, and by Consequences drawn from thence. But these are such Operations as can never be performed by such a Natural Inclination, and Necessary Instinct, which are only the Refuge of Men, who want something to say. But then it must be observ'd withal, that this Objection returns back again, upon them that make it. For it

it is, without doubt, more Noble, more for the Honour of any Creature, and a nearer Resemblance to God himself, to do Well by a happy and unalterable Determination of one's Nature ; than to do so by Art and Industry, long Time, and much Learning ; To be led by the Unerring Hand of God, than left to our own imprudent Conduct ; and to act Regularly, by an Habitual, and Constant , and Necessary Impulse ; than by such a Choice and Liberty, as is subject to Hazard and Rashness. Besides, by this Notion of Natural Instinct, they take away from Brutes all manner of Instruction, and Improvement, as well that which they receive from others, as that which they impart to others ; but This is abundantly contradicted and confuted by Experience. For it is plain, They learn what they knew not before, and grow more Perfect by Degrees, and Imitation, and Custom ; as *Magpies*, for Instance, *Parrots*, *Jack-Daws*, and *Dogs* ; and it is as plain, that they teach one another too, from the Examples of *Nightingales* and especially of *Elephants*, who of all Animals are the aptest to learn, and seem to exceed the rest by far, both in Largeness of Capacity, and Quickness of Apprehension.

*See the Adverti-
sement.*

As for that Power of the Reasoning Soul, which Man values himself so very Highly upon ; That of considering Corporeal Things abstractedly, representing what is absent to himself, and divesting things of what Circumstances he thinks fit, to conceive them after his own Pleasure ; (for according to the Jargon of the Schools, * *the Object understood, is in the subject Understanding, according to the manner in which the Understander represents it to himself,*) there is some Appearance, that Beasts do

8.

* *Intellectum est in Intelligente, ad modum Intelligentis.*

all this too. A *Horse*, that has been us'd to Charge, when he lies asleep, in his Litter, shall shiver, and snort, as if he were in an Action; and plainly forms to himself, the Sounds of Drums and Trumpets, and the Images of an Army, and a Battel. The *Grey-Hound*, in his Dream, pants and blows, sets up his Stern, shakes his Legs, and conceives a *Spiritual Hare* before him. *Mastiffs*, and *House-Dogs*, growl in their Sleep, and sometimes open, and bark out-right, imagining that some Stranger is coming in. The fairest Conclusion of this first Point seems to me then, to be thus; That the Brutes have Reason; That They compare, discourse, and judge, but in a much lower Degree, and nothing comparable, to that Perfection, in which Man does. They have a much less Share, but they are not Totally excluded. We excel Them vastly, and so we do one another; and, indeed, the several Kinds of Beasts, excel each other too. Nay, I know not, whether it may not be said, That the difference among Men, is Greatest; and that some Men, excel some other Men in Reasoning, more than some Men excel Beasts.

Aristotle, 'tis true, pronounces of some Men, that they are so extremely Ignorant and Stupid, that they differ in nothing, but Shape, from Brutes. But all this notwithstanding, to argue, that they have equal Share, and stand upon the Level with Mankind; that their Souls are equally Immortal with Ours, or Ours equally Mortal with Theirs, are very Malicious and unfair Inferences. For, besides that Man excels most Conspicuously, in the Operations of Reason, there are several other more Noble Faculties and Prerogatives, such as are entirely Spiritual, which justify the Character, of his being the Likeness and Image of God; and render him capable of *Immortal Bliss*; all which the Brutes partake not of, in any the least Degree. And these are
all

all implied in the Notion of Intellect, which denotes something more Sublime, than mere Ratiocination.

The other Argument, upon this Occasion, concerns the Worth and Benefit of this Pre-eminence. For, Allowing the Matter of Fact alledged, to be True, that Man hath Reason, and Brutes have it not, yet, What does he get by it? Are not the Noblest Faculties paid very Dear for, and do they not do him more Hurt than Good? Are not These the principal Cause and Source of the Miseries that load him? The Vices, the Passions, the Inward Distempers, All that Irresolution, and Trouble, and Despair, which embitter and cast a Blemish upon our Lives? And these the Beasts have none of, because they have none of those Powers, which are the Seat and the Source of them. Witness the Story of *Pyrrho's* Hog, that eat contentedly on Shipboard, in a Storm, at a time when the Passengers and Seamen, were almost dead with Fear. " I confess, as we manage the Matter, the
 " generality of People have but a very indifferent
 " Bargain of This. And some who consider Things
 " Superficially, and look at what the World is,
 " not what it might be, are tempted to think
 that these more exalted and larger Endowments of the Soul, have been wholly deny'd, or at least much diminished, and impaired to Beasts, for their mighty Ease and Benefit; and given to Man in their full Strength, for his mighty Torment: Since it is by the Interposition and Assistance of these, that he teazes and perplexes himself; resents and sadly keeps alive the Past; is distracted with Anxiety and Amazement for the Future; nay, forms to his own Mind, and then is scared out of his Wits, with the gasty Images of Evils, that are not yet, nor are ever like to be. Now in other Animals, the Sense and the Apprehension of Evil have
 both

both the same Date ; till it comes, they know nothing of it ; and when it hath done, they have done with it ; and from the Moment of its Cessation, are in perfect Ease, and Tranquillity. And thus you see, how Man is rendred (rather indeed, how by his Mismanagement, he renders himself) the worse for his Advantages ; that the Happiness and Privilege of his Nature, is become the Instrument and Occasion of all his Misery. And were it not better to have been born naked, than to be provided with * Weapons, and to sheath them thus, in our own Bowels ?

Note.

10.

*Dominion
and Com-
mand.*

Another Advantage over Brutes, which Man makes Pretensions too, is that of *Dominion*, and Power to Command them, which he imagines to be vested in him. But, (not to take notice at present, that This is but an improper Plea, since Men also mutually Command, and are Commanded by one another) the Thing in Fact is not true : For where does our Practice and Experience shew this universal Command in Man, and as universal Subjection and Obedience in other Crea-

Note. * “ Did Nature, which furnished us with these Rich and
 “ Heavenly Accomplishments, bring us under a Necessity of convert-
 “ ing them to our own Sorrow and Ruine ; the Gift, indeed,
 “ had been Treacherous, and Providence cruelly kind. But since
 “ they are not the Appetites, and Passions, and Faculties themselves,
 “ but the Excesses and Indulgings of the One, and the Neglect or
 “ Abuse of the other, to which these Miseries are owing, let us
 “ not complain of our Condition, nor charge God foolishly ; but put
 “ all that we suffer of this kind, to the Account of our own Follies
 “ and Vices. For from hence it is, that Brutes can pretend to en-
 “ ter into the Comparison with us, even in the Esteem of those,
 “ whose Wish and Interest it is, to bring us down to their Level.
 “ And were not we by cherishing our restless Passions, so industrious
 “ to torment our selves, we should not see, as now we daily do, that
 “ the Dull and Insensible live most at their Ease, and come off
 “ Cheaper with the Sufferings of Humane Life, than Men of Wit,
 “ and Parts, and more refin’d Understanding.

tures ?

tures ? 'Tis plain in the present State of Things, that this is a mere Fancy ; and that Men are much more in fear of Beasts, than stood in fear of by them. It is not to be doubted, but this was once the Case ; and an ample Commission that was, which the Great Lord of the Universe issued at the Creation, *Let him have Dominion over the Fowls* Gen. i. 26. *of the Air, and over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Cattel, and over all the Earth.* And admirably fitted he is to execute this Commission, by reason of the Majesty of his Person, an erect and beautiful Form, and the Greatness and Wisdom of his Mind. But alas ! the Face of Affairs is changed ; the actual Exercise of this Prerogative lost. And all that remains, is only what these Advantages of his Body and Mind give him ; and it may much more properly be said, That Man is made fit to Command, and Brutes to Obey, than that He does actually Command, and They Obey.

Another Advantage bordering upon the former, is perfect *Liberty*. This Man pretends to, and upbraids Brutes with Captivity, Slavery, and Drudgery ; but This, I think, is full as unreasonable and foreign as the other. Men themselves lie infinitely more open to Reproaches of that kind : To This let the Inhabitants of *Guinea* speak ; else what mean the Slaves that are made by Kid-napping and Force, and not only their Persons enslav'd, but all their Posterity too ? Nay, what mean those willing Slaves, who sell their Liberty for Sums of Money, or who part with it gladly and freely, or that truck it away for some Conveniency ? For was not all this done by the Ancient Gladiators ? And is it not now done daily, by Women to their Ladies, and Soldiers to their Commanders ? But Beasts know nothing like this ; they serve not one another ; they neither enslave, nor are enslaved by one another ; but are in all respects

S

more

II.
*Liberty
and Servi-
tude.*

more free, and at their own Disposal, than Men are.

Man, it is confess'd, makes these his Diversion and his Entertainment; they furnish his Sports and his Table: But if He Hunt, and take, and kill, and eat Them; They do the same by Him, as Opportunities offer: And that, in a manner more brave and great than His; not by Toils, and Nets, and Cunning; but by honest down-right Force. Nay, He is not murder'd and devour'd thus by Beasts only, but (which is infinitely more) by another Man, his Equal, his Companion, his Brother. No Beasts ever assemble themselves in Troops, to destroy, and ravage, and lead Captive another Troop of the same Kind; but Men, to their Eternal Reproach, not only do the Thing, but glory in it, and triumph in the Destruction of their own Species.

4.
Virtue.

The Fourth and great Advantage Men pretend to above Brutes, consists in their *Virtue*; but if by this Moral Virtue be meant, and if we may be allow'd to judge of Virtue by the commendable Actions and outward Appearances of it; (This Claim will admit of some Dispute too: Tho' Moral Virtue taken formally, and with regard to the Will, Beasts cannot have :) For Gratitude, and Friendship, and Readiness to be serviceable, Fidelity, Magnanimity, and several other good Qualities useful in Society and Conversation, have been observ'd to express themselves after a more lively, more surprizing manner, and with more Constancy, in Brutes, than is usually seen in the Generality of Mankind. *Lyfimachus* had a Dog call'd *Hircanus*, which lay perpetually upon the Bed with his dead Master, and wou'd not be got from thence to eat or drink, but continu'd thus watching and fasting, till the Corpse came to be burnt, and then leaped eagerly into the
Fire,

Fire, and burnt himself with it. The same is related of another Dog, that belonged to one *Pyrrhus*. That of the wise *Hesiod* detected the Ruffians that murder'd his Master: And another did the like before King *Pyrrhus*, and his whole Army. *Plutarch* tells us of another, that hunted about from City to City, and never rested till he had brought the Robber of the Temple at *Athens*, to Justice for his Sacrilege. The Story of *Andro-*
chus is very well known, who had lived and eat See Gell. Lib. V. Cap. 14. with a Lion for some Years, after curing him of a painful Wound; and afterwards, when condemn'd at *Rome* to the Wild Beasts, this Lion wou'd not touch the Slave that had been his Guest, and his Surgeon, but approach'd him with all the Demonstrations of Thankfulness and Love; all which, *Appian* declares himself to have been an Eye-Witness of at *Rome*. An Elephant, that in Heat of Passion had kill'd his Keeper, wou'd neither eat nor drink, but pined himself to Death, by way of Penance. But now on the other hand, Is there in the World any Creature that can compare with Man, for Injustice and Ingratitude, Churlishness and Ill-Nature, Treachery and Baseness, Lying and Dissimulation? Besides, allowing Virtue to consist in moderating the Appetite, and curbing one's Pleasures, Beasts are then a great deal more regular than We, and keep themselves more duly within the Bounds of Nature and Convenience. As for those Desires that are superfluous, extravagant, and unnatural, they never have any Inclination of that kind: And consequently are exempted from one great and common Species of Humane Vice, which is, The enlarging our Desires beyond measure, and multiplying, nay, inventing fresh Objects to our selves; and employing Artifice and Industry to heighten and create new Inclinations. In those

- which Nature prompts them to, as Eating, and Drinking, and other Bodily Satisfactions, they out-do us much in Temperance and Reservedness. But if we would in good earnest be satisfy'd, whether Man or Brutes be the more Vicious or Virtuous ; that is indeed, if we would put Man out of Countenance effectually, and silence all the Pretensions to this Excellency quite ; Let us put the Issue upon that single Virtue, which is therefore call'd *Humanity*, because look'd upon to be the most proper and inseparable Quality of our Nature ; as on the contrary, That of *Cruelty* is esteem'd the most foreign, most disagreeable, and that which we abandon, as fit for wild Beasts only, by giving it the Denomination of *Ferity*. But alas ! in this very Instance they reproach, and put us to the Blush ; particularly upon the following Accounts. They never, or but seldom, fall foul, or do any great Mischief upon those of their own Kind. It is a lamentable and scandalous Observation, but hath too much of Truth in it, That Dens and Desarts are more peaceful Habitations than Towns and Cities ; and even * *Dragons and Beasts of Prey, agree better together than Men do.* But These, when they do fall out, quarrel upon just, and weighty, and necessary Occasions ; Provocations that touch them nearly, and to defend that, which needs and deserves their utmost Endeavours to defend it ; their Life, their Liberty, their Young. Again ; They engage and assault each other with such Arms only as Nature hath provided for them ; they come to fair and open Combat, use no Methods of Hostility, but plain Strength and Courage ; encounter single, One against One : No general Rendez-
- I.
 - II.
 - III.
 - IV.
 - V.

* Major Serpentum Ferarumq; concordia quam Hominum.

vous of vast Herds and Troops on each side :
 Nor do they act with Stratagem and Design. VI.
 Their Engagements are also very short, and pre- VII.
 sently decided ; for as soon as one of them is
 wounded, or gives out, the Fray is over ; and,
 which is yet more considerable, as soon as the
 Action is ended, the whole Quarrel, the Hatred,
 and all the Resentment is at an end too. But
 Man is the very *Reverse* of all this ; He is so I.
 far from not quarrelling with his own Kind, that
 he quarrels with none besides. The Grounds of II.
 these Quarrels are frequently trifling and fri-
 volous, and of no Consideration ; nay, which is
 worse, they are sometimes unjust, they proceed
 from Falshood and Misrepresentation ; and if the
 Matter be examin'd to the bottom, the Quarrels
 have no real Ground at all. The Arms he uses, III.
 are the Work of Industry ; such as are treache-
 rous, and kill without Warning, and contriv'd to
 be as much so as is possible. The Method of ma- IV.
 king War is by Deceit and Cunning, which we
 colour over with the specious Name of Conduct ;
 and this is seen in Stratagem and Surprise, Feints
 and Ambuscades. This again is transacted by vast V.
 Numbers of Men met together by solemn En-
 gagement, and particular Appointments, to stand
 and fall by one another. These Wars are vastly long VI.
 too ; none lay down their Arms upon the first Dis-
 advantage ; but still either Side pushes on its For-
 tune ; the One to recover their Losses, the Other
 to pursue and perfect their Conquests ; and the
 usual End put to these Controversies, is by the
 Death of the Principals, Lastly, In these Quar- VII.
 rels, when Men want the Power, they still re-
 tain the Will to do Mischief ; and tho' Acts of
 Hostility may cease, yet the Hatred and Resent-
 ment seldom or never cease.

12.
*The Conclusion of
this Second
Consideration.*

The Sum then of this Comparison, as you have found it here stated, amounts to thus much ; That Man hath no such mighty reason to magnify Himself in the Advantages of his Nature, above That of Brutes : For, allowing Him some Endowments and Accomplishments, which They have not ; as the Sprightliness and Force of his Mind, and Intellectual Faculties, and all the other nobler Powers of the Soul ; yet the Incumbrances upon these is very great and grievous ; the Evils he is involv'd in upon their Account, infinite and insupportable : The Inconstancy and Irresolution, Superstition and Solitude, sad Remembrances of the past and anxious Concern for the Future ; Ambition, and Avarice, and Envy, restless Curiosity, busy Detraction, Lying, and Deceit, a world of unruly Appetites and Passions, Troubles and Discontents. Thus this Mind, with the Thoughts and Value whereof Man is so much exalted, is the Occasion of infinite Misfortunes ; and of most of all then, when it exerts it self most : For in all vehement Agitations, it does not only hurt and disturb the Body, and render its Forces and Functions disorder'd, and broken, and quite tired down ; but it hinders and confounds its own self : For what is it that throws Men into Folly and Madness, so much as the Acuteness, and Activity, and Strength of the Mind it self ? The subtlest Follies, and most exquisite Phrensies, proceed from the quickest, and finest, and most vigorous Agitations of the Mind ; as we may observe, that the bitterest Aversions, and most irreconcilable Enmities grow from the tenderest Passions, and most intimate Friendships ; and the most virulent and mortal Diseases, from a strong Complexion, and healthful Body. Melancholy Persons are observ'd by *Plato*, to be best dispose for *Learning* and *Wisdom* ; but they are equally disposed

fed for *Folly* too ; much more than Persons of a different Temper. And to a Man of nice and just Observation, it will appear, that when the Soul acts freely, and gives her self a *Loose*, there is none of her Altitudes and Sallies without a Mixture of *Folly* ; and in good Truth, these Things dwell very close together ;

— *Wit to Madnes nearly is ally'd,
And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide.*

Once more ; If we regard the living in Agreement with Nature, and in Conformity with what she dictates and requires from us, Beasts seem to excel us in this respect very much ; for they lead a Life of more Freedom, more Ease, and Security, more Moderation and Contentedness, than Men do. And That Man is deservedly reputed *Wise*, who makes *them* his Pattern, and his Lesson, and reaps Profit by *their* Example ; by reforming and reducing himself to that Innocence, Simplicity, Liberty, Meekness, and Gentleness of Temper, which Nature had originally implanted both in Us and Them : And, which in Brutes is still very conspicuous, but in Us is decay'd, chang'd, and utterly corrupted by our Industrious Wickedness, and Artificial Depravations ; thus debauching and abusing the particular Prerogative we pretend to, and rendring our selves more vile than the Beasts, by means of that very Understanding and Judgment, which sets us so far above them. Hence sure it is, that God intending to shame us into Vertue, sends us to School in Scripture, and bids us grow wiser by the Example of these Creatures.

The *Crane*, the *Stork*, and the *Swallow* ; the *Serpent*, and the *Dove*, the *Ant*, and the *Ox*, and the *Ass*, and sundry others, are recommended as Teachers to us. And after all, To take down

Jer.viii. 7.
Mat. x. 16.
Prov.vi. 6.
Isa. i. 3.

our Vanity upon this Occasion, we ought to remember, that there is some sort of Correspondence, some mutual Relations and Duties arising from thence ; if upon no other account, yet by reason of their being made by the same Hand, belonging to the same Master, and making a Part of the same Family with our selves. And this single Reflection ought to prevail with us, to use our Advantages over them modestly, tenderly, and conscientiously ; and not treat them with Cruelty and Contempt. For as Justice is a Debt from us to all Men ; so Kindness, and Beneficence, and Mercy must needs be due to all Creatures whatsoever, that are in any Condition of receiving Benefit by us.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

OUR Author in the midst of his great Care to state this Comparison so, as might be most mortifying to the *Vanity* of Mankind, hath yet found himself oblig'd to acknowledge, that the *Reason* of Men is so much brighter, and more noble in its Operations and Effects, than any thing discoverable in the Brute Part of the Creation, that I might have let this Chapter pass without any Censure, had it not been for two or three Sentences, which seem obnoxious to very ill Construction : Such as a sort of Men are (in our Age) but too fond of embracing, who, at the same time that they are vain enough to imagine, that neither the *Nature*, nor the *Revelations* of God himself can have any thing in them above their *Reason* ; are yet so fordid and degenerate, as to be content that Beasts should be thought endu'd with the same Souls, and to be mov'd with the same Principles of Reason with Themselves. An Opinion, which is the rather entertain'd, for the sake of a certain Consequence

sequence that recommends it, with regard to a Future State ; for it seems they can be satisfy'd with the Portion of Brutes now, provided they may but partake in it hereafter. And what Favour this Notion might find from these Passages, *That Brutes and Men both have the same Reason, tho' not in the same Degree, and that some Men excel others much more than some Men again excel Beasts ;* I was doubtful, and therefore look'd upon my self concerned, (in pursuance of my Proposals at the Beginning of this Book,) to offer these following Considerations to my Reader.

First, That in the Operations of the Reasonable Soul, a great deal depends upon the Organs and Disposition of that Body to which it is joyn'd ; and (as hath been already explain'd at large) more especially upon the Brain: Now since Anatomists have not been able to observe any very remarkable Differences between the Contexture of the Humane Brain, and that of Brutes ; we are not to think it strange, if there appear some small Resemblances in some particular Actions of Men and Beasts, tho' these do not proceed from the same Principle of Motion ; but owe their Similitude to that of the Body and *Medium* put into those Motions !

Secondly, That the Impressions of External Objects have very strong Effects upon the Imagination and Memory ; and these, assisted by Custom, and Imitation, and Example, will perform many wonderful Things, which yet are not the Operations of *Reason*, properly so called. Of this kind it is easy to observe great number of Instances, in Them, who either by means of their *Infancy*, have not yet attain'd to the Use of Reason ; or Them, who by some Natural Defects never have it at all ; or Others, who by some accidental Disturbance have lost it : In all which Cases, (not during

during the lucid Intervals only, or when the Powers of the Mind seem a little to be awaken'd, but even in the most profound Ignorance, or most raging Madness) Those which are frequently distinguished by the Sensitive Faculties of the Soul, put forth sometimes a marvellous Efficacy and Vigour. And that These are moved entirely by Material and Sensible Objects, and act as necessarily as any other Parts of *Matter* whatsoever, hath been the Opinion of many new Philosophers; some of whom imagine, that all the Operations of this kind are as capable of being resolved by Principles of Mechanism, (those Operations, I mean, of Imagination, and Memory, and Custom) as any other Affections and Motions of common *Matter*. How just this Conclusion is, I do not pretend to determine; for They themselves seem to confess it insufficient, when they call in to their Assistance another *Principle*, which is,

Thirdly, That of *Instinct*; By which is meant, a strong Tendency, and natural Impulse (discernible in these Creatures) to certain necessary and useful Actions. Something of a Principle implanted in them by their wise Creator, to qualify them for their own Preservation, and the answering the Ends of his good Providence in making them. And this appears so early, as to be plainly antecedent to either Memory or Fancy; and yet is so constant too, and always the same, in the same Circumstances and Occasions; as neither to depend upon Causes so mutable as the Impressions of outward Objects, nor a Principle so capricious as the Choice of such a Mind perfectly free feels in its Deliberations. And, as Instruments put together by a skilful Hand, perform many Operations, so astonishing, that a Man unexperient'd in the Art, cou'd not possibly imagine such Materials

terials capable of them ; so these Philosophers conceive, that Almighty God, in his Infinite Wisdom, hath so disposed the Sensitive Parts of the Soul, that They, by their wonderful Structure, shall be adapted to most amazing Effects, and possessed with some Original Propensions and Impulses, independent from, and antecedent to, the Impressions of Matter, or the Power of Institution and Custom ; which, in the needful and most profitable Actions of Life, serve these Animals for Fundamental Principles, and bear some kind of Affinity to the first common Notions, in the Rational and Intelligent Mind. And upon these Impulses joyn'd to those other Advantages mention'd before, the whole Oeconomy of Brutes, and even those Actions, which seem most exquisite and admirable in any of them, have, by the Modern Mechanick Philosophers, been generally thought to depend. Concerning which, tho' almost every System treat in some measure, yet I believe my Reader (whether his Opinion incline to that Account or not) would at least think himself well entertain'd upon this Subject, by the Perusal of our Learned and Ingenious Dr. *Willis*, in the Sixth and Seventh Chapters of his Book *De Animâ Brutorum*.

Two Things are fit to be added upon this Occasion, with regard to what Monsieur *Charron* hath deliver'd concerning *Instinct* : The first is, That in regard we observe these Animals constantly going on in the same beaten Track, and keeping ever close to one Method ; and even in those Instances which have the greatest appearance of Comparison and Choice, of Ten thousand that make the same Experiment, or go about the same thing, not one varying from the common and received Way ; This seems to be some *Governing Principle* in Nature, which gives a necessary Determination to them ; and very different from that Liberty and Con-

Consideration, which hath scarce any more convincing and demonstrative Proof of the Will, being absolutely unconstrain'd in Mankind, than that Multiplicity of Opinions, and strange Variety of Proceedings, observable upon Occasions and Junctures, in themselves extremely alike.

The other Remark, proper upon this Occasion, is, that what our Author suggests here, is no Consequence at all: as if too much Honour were done to these Creatures, and such a happy and unalterable Determination, to what is profitable and proper for them, were a Privilege more than Humane; a nearer Approach to that unerring Wisdom, and unchangeable Goodness of the Divine Nature, than We our selves can boast of. For there is so very wide a Difference between *Liberty* and *Necessity* of acting; the One is so Glorious, so truly Noble; the Other so Mean, so Slavish a Principle, that no Comparison can be made between them. The most Glorious, most Beautiful, most Useful Parts of the Material Creation, are in this respect, infinitely beneath the meanest of the Sons of Men; and all their other Advantages put together, cannot deserve to be laid into the Balance against this Single Dignity, of Free and Spontaneous Action. And tho' the Excellency of the Divine Nature, be indefectible and unalterable Goodness; yet would not even This be an Excellence, if it were not the Effect of perfect Liberty. It is, indeed, our Misfortune, that our Understandings are imposed upon, our Affections perverted; and so the Choice we have the Use of, often determines us to the wrong Side, and entangles us in Error and Vice. But These Defects and Temptations are so many Clogs and Bars upon our Freedom; and therefore God, who is above any Possibility of such false Determinations, is still so much the more Free.

For

For *Freedom* does not consist in a Power of choosing *Evil* as well as *Good* (which is a Power, indeed, that never was, nor can be, strictly speaking) but in being Self-moved, and Self-acted ; so as to be the Disposer of one's own Will, without any Compulsion or necessary Determination, from a Foreign or External Principle ; and only acting, as one is acted upon. If then this Instinct in Brutes, be a Matter of *Force*, and necessary Determination, they are in no degree the better or more commendable for it ; but under a fatal Constraint, which is so far from resembling the Divine Perfection, that it admits of no Virtue, nor ought to be esteem'd any Excellence, but the direct contrary.

Fourthly, Let us observe, what mighty Difference there is between the *Perceptions* of Brutes, and those of Men ; so great, that in them we find no Footsteps of any but such as are material and single Objects ; and what this Author advances as Collections, and Inferences from thence, are not improbably assign'd by Others, to the Force of Imagination, or the Strength of Memory, or to those Natural Impressions, which commonly go by the Name of *Instinct*. To the latter of These we find very Learned Men, attributing that uniform Process of Birds, and Bees, and Ants, in their Nutrition, Generation, Production, and the like. To the former, that which *Charron* terms deducing an *Universal* from a *Singular*, and knowing by the having seen one Man, how to distinguish the Humane Form, in any, or all Individuals of the same Species. But, supposing we should allow, that this proceeds from a distinguishing Faculty, and not merely from the refreshing and awaking an Image, that lay dormant in the Memory, 'till revived by this fresh Object ; yet what Proportion can even thus much bear, to all those abstracted Idea's by which

which Men distinguish the Natures and Properties of Things? If a Brute, from the Sight of a Man, cou'd collect so much as should serve to discriminate all other Men from Creatures of a different Species; yet what is this in Comparison of that Penetration, which examines into the Abstruse Causes, and Essential Differences of Things, and informs it self distinctly, wherein that very Character of our Nature, which we call *Humanity*, consists? And what account can there be given of any universal or abstracted Idea's in Beasts? of any of those which we properly call *Reasonable Actions*? For as to these seeming Demurrs, and little Comparisons, which we find instanced in here, and in other Places, it is usual to observe as much, in Children so little, and Naturals so wretchedly stupid, as that there are but very faint, if any Glimpses at all, of *Understanding* in them. I know, indeed, *Monsieur Charron* hath provided a Reply to this Argument, by saying, That we cannot have any competent Knowledge of Their Internal Operations. But tho' we do not see all the hidden Movements of their Souls, nor can distinctly say, whether they are *feeble Reasoners*, or *stupendous Machines*; yet we may be very confident, they cannot dive into the Causes and abstracted Idea's of Things; because there do not appear the least Foot-steps, or any of those Noble Effects, of such Knowledge, which Mankind have in all Ages been conspicuous for. For to these abstracted Notions it is, that all the amazing Inventions and Improvements of Arts and Sciences; but especially the Wonders of *Mechanism* and *Motion*, by Numbers and Proportions duly adjusted, owe their Birth and daily Growth. And since in the Distinction and Perception of Concrete Bodies, where Sensation is chiefly concern'd, the Brutes are acknowledged to equal, if not exceed Us, in Accuracy; it is not

S. I.

to

to be conceived, that They who excel in a Faculty, which is commensurate to a Sensitive Soul, should be able to give no Marks at all of their being endu'd with a Capacity of entertaining and feeding upon those Idea's, which are the peculiar Prerogatives and Glories of a Rational One.

Much more might be added upon this Occasion, with regard both to the Objects themselves; and the particular Manner of Conception; and the infinite Disparities of the Humane Intellect, and that Faculty, which is affected in Brutes. But it is Prejudice sufficient against them, that so many very Wise and Inquisitive Persons have found Cause, to do even something more than doubt, whether Brutes be better than a sort of *Divine Clock-work*; and have any manner of Sense or Perception at all. This, at least, was never asserted of Man; nor the Powers and Operations of his Reasoning Soul disputed, (as to the Reality of them,) except by such as set up for *Universal Scepticism*, and are for reducing all to a State of Confusion and Uncertainty. And therefore if, because Brutes seem to act by a Faculty, which we cannot perfectly account for, we should allow, to these Brutes, some few dusky Glimmerings of Reason (which yet there is no absolute Necessity for, because they have something like it) yet no impartial Considerer, can ever admit, that it will bear a Question, whether They or We have the better of this Point; or that *Some Men excel others, more than some again excel Beasts*; for there is no Man, how mean and untaught soever, if provided with what we call *Common Sense*, but finds an Ability in himself, nay, exercises that Ability every Day, (even when he does not know or think of it) of considering, comparing, and determining in such a manner, as no good Arguments have ever yet been offer'd to shew that Beasts either do, or can do. They are justly
thought

thought to do somewhat very extraordinary, when by long Custom, and severe Discipline, and daily Example and Instruction, brought to imitate some very common Actions of Men ; But what Divine Heights do Men themselves ascend to, when they have proportionable Pains taken with them ? And here in Justice the Comparison ought to lie ; between the *best* of each Kind ; not the *best* of One, and the *lowest* of the Other ; the most unapt and neglected of Men, and the most teachable and improved of Brutes : For the Advantages, or the Want of *Art*, cannot at all affect the Dispute, where the Gifts of *Nature* are the Matter in Question : And these are distributed with so very uneven a Hand in the Case before us ; that He must be either very stupid, or very perverse, who does not see the mighty Disproportion.

As to the other Part of this Discourse, whether *Reason* be any *real Benefit*, and we might not have been as well, or better without it ; I shall only need to add, that the several Instances produced here, are only such as are sad and very reproachful Truths, in regard of those Abuses of Reason, Men are guilty of ; and the wicked, or the mischievous Purposes they pervert it to : But as to the Thing it self, they are no more a Reflection upon it, than the Surfeits and Bestiality of Gluttons, and Sots, are upon the common Refreshments of Life. What is said upon this Occasion, will do well indeed to be consider'd, by those vicious and indiscreet Men, who apply That as a *Spur* to their Wickedness, and Passion, which was intended for a *Curb* to both ; And the World ought to be humbled and reformed by a serious Reflection, how necessary Men become to their own Miseries, and how obstinately fond they are of them, when their very *Remedies* are industriously turned into the worst of *Diseases* : But all this, notwithstanding *Monsieur Charren's*

Charron's Argument here, is abundantly refuted by himself, in the last Words of this whole Treatise, where he vindicates the Honour of *Eloquence*, from the mischievous Effects, which some ill-designing Men apply it to by this Parallel: "For (says he) even That *Reason* and *Understanding*, which is the peculiar *Prerogative* of *Humane Nature*, and sets us above Brutes, is most miserably abus'd; turn'd against God, and our Selves; and made the Occasion of our more inexcusable Ruine. But This is only an Accidental Misfortune; far from the Natural Tendency of so Noble a Privilege. And He, who wou'd argue from hence, that Mankind had better want these Faculties, may justly seem to have degenerated into Brute; and to be quite forsaken of all that Reason, which he so wildly and so rashly condemns. So just Ground is there for reading this Treatise, with those Cautions to be laid down upon the XXXVIIth Chapter; and so truly does our Author keep up his Character of an *Academick Philosopher*.

C H A P. XXXV.

The Third Respect, under which we proposed to consider Man, is by taking a short View, and summary Account of his Life.

The True Value, the Continuance, and Description of Humane Life, and the several Parts or Stages of it.

I.
Of the
Worth, or
just Esti-
mate of
Life.

ONE very considerable ; One, indeed, of the principal and most necessary Points of Wisdom, is rightly to understand the True Value of Life ; and to make so just an Estimate of it, as to keep or to lose it ; to cherish and preserve, or to neglect and lay it down ; and so to manage ourselves in the whole Conduct of it, as Duty and Decency require. There is not any one Case, in which Men are more apt to be wanting, nor where their Failings are of more dangerous Consequence, for the involving them in new and infinite Difficulties. The Mean, and the Ignorant, the Worldling, and the Man of Pleasure ; and, in general, all that do not, or cannot consider, prize Life extravagantly : They look upon it as the *Supreme Good*, and prefer it so much before all other Things, as not to admit a Comparison between them. If Life were to be sold at a Price ; nay, if a short Reprieve only, and lengthening out their Term a little, can be had, they can think nothing too dear, no Conditions too hard to be submitted too ; but are satisfied the Purchase ought to be made at any rate. For This, they tell you, is their *Happiness*, and *when That is gone, All is gone ;*
their

their very Motto is, *Nothing more precious than Life.* (*Vita nihil charius*) They value and love it, not only as the Scene of Action and Enjoyment, and upon the account of the Conveniences and Opportunities it affords, but upon its own supposed Intrinsick Worth, and live merely for the sake of Living. And how can we think it strange, that such Persons should be so very defective in the rest of their Duty, so mis-led with Errors and extravagant Notions, when they make the very first Step wrong, and set out in so gross a Mistake, concerning this great Fundamental Article of Wisdom and Virtue?

There is also a Contempt of *Life*, that declines as much to Vice in the other Extreme, and represents it as a Burden, or a Trifle; Worth nothing, or worse than nothing: But this Undervaluing is the Effect of Weakness and Ignorance, of Pride and Ingratitude. For we know very well, that when it falls into Wise and Good Hands, it is capable of becoming an Instrument of great and general Use, both to our Selves, and to Others. Now I can by no means be of Their Opinion, taken literally and plainly, who give it out for their Principle, That * *the greatest Happiness is, Not to live at all; and the next most desirable Thing is, To live but a very little while.* Nor is that Argument they use in Vindication of this Opinion, at all sufficient or satisfactory: What Hurt (say they) could there be in *Non-Existence*? And what Matter had it been, if I were never created? To This one may reply with reason enough, What do you make of all the Happiness you have enjoy'd? What wou'd become of This, if you had had *no Being*? And would it not have been some Matter, some

* Optimum non nasci; aut quam citissimè aboleri.

Hurt never to have enjoy'd it? For certainly, tho' the loss of the Good which we have, and know the Worth of, be a more sensible Evil; yet the mere Privation of Good, and never having it at all, is one sort of Evil too; even tho' that Good be such as we shou'd never have missed, nor such as was necessary to us. These Extremes are too wide; they overstrain the Point on both sides, and degenerate into Vice; tho' they are not equally vicious and erroneous neither.

I confess, speaking in the Quality of a Philosopher, and with regard to the present State of Affairs only; I do not think that Wise Ancient much out of the way, who acknowledg'd † *Life to be good; but such a Good as no Man would accept of, if it were left to his own free Choice, and he were fairly inform'd before-hand, what Incumbrances lay upon it.* It is not at all amiss, that we are engaged in it, before we know what it is: We come into the World blind-fold; but that is no reason why Men shou'd afterwards put out their own Eyes, or hood-wink themselves. For the Mischief is, that, when we are got hither, we run into different Ways: Some cheat themselves into so extravagant a Fondness for Life, that they wou'd not part with it again at any rate. Others fret themselves into so ill an Opinion of it, that they grumble eternally, are discontented at every thing, and pretend to be weary, and sick of Living. But Wise Men have juster Notions of the Matter; They consider that this was a Bargain made without their Knowledge or Consent; (for no Man lives, or dies, as soon, or as late, or in such Manner and Circumstances, as he pleases himself) But still it is a Bargain we are bound to stand to; and if it be a hard one,

† Vitam nemo acciperet, si daretur sciencibus.

we must try to make the best of it. Sometimes we shall meet with rough Ways ; but the whole Passage is not so : And therefore Philosophers agree, that the best Course is, to create no Disturbance, nor struggle and flounder unprofitably, but for Men to suit their Tempers, and comply with their Circumstances as well as they can ; to carry it off with Evenness and Moderation, and make a *Virtue of Necessity* ; for That is the Character of Wisdom and good Management : And when they have fixed themselves in this Method, then to live as long as is fit for them, consistent with their Duty and Decency : Not as long as is possible for them, which is the Principle of Foolish and Profligate People. For there is a Season proper for Dying, as well as one for Living ; and a Virtuous Honourable Death is a thousand times rather to be chosen, than a Wicked and Infamous Life. Now a Wise and Good Man makes it his Business to live just so long as Life is better than Death, and no longer : For, as we observed before, that They are in the wrong, who esteem the shortest Life best ; so is that common Opinion a Mistake too, which raises the Value by Computation of Years, and accounts that Life best which lasts longest.

The Shortness of that Term allow'd us in this World, is a great and a general Complaint : We meet it in every Mouth ; not from the Ignorant and Vulgar only, where we cannot expect better, than that They should be willing to live always ; but (which may be allow'd a little to surprize us, even Great Souls, and Wise Men, reckon it among their very greatest Unhappinesses. Now to say the very Truth, as Men usually manage the Matter, and indeed as Nature hath in some measure contriv'd it, Life is very short ; For the greatest Part of it is employed and di-

2.
Of the
Shortness
of Life.

verted otherwise ; and a very small Proportion left for the true Uses and Ends of Living. The Time of our Infancy and Ignorance, the Decays and Infirmities of Old Age, the necessary Intervals of Sleep, the Diseases of our Bodies and our Minds, and the infinite other void Spaces of it, wherein we are incapable of doing Good, run away with a great deal of our Time : And when the Whole is summ'd up, and these Abatements made, the Remainder is not much. But yet, without troubling our selves with the contrary Opinion, which asserts the Shortness of Life to be greatly for our Advantage, we shall find Reason enough to accuse this Complaint of Injustice ; and to think it more the Effect of Inconsideration and Ill-Nature, than of good Arguing, and virtuous Disposition. For what Advantage would a longer Life be to us ? Shall we wish for it to no other Purpose, but merely to Live in ; to take our Ease, to Eat, and Drink, and Sleep, to look about us, and see more of the World ? What need is there of so much Time for this ? We have already seen, and known, and tasted what we are capable of, in a very little time ; and when we are got to the End of our Curiosity, This is sufficient. What Good will it do us, or wherefore should we wish to act the same Things over and over again, and be always beginning afresh ? Who would not be cloy'd with eating upon the same Dish every Day ? If this be not nauseous and troublesome, yet to be sure it is superfluous and unnecessary. This is but One Circle, which is perpetually rolling, and brings the same Things up-permost again ; sometimes they remove to a little distance, and then they quickly return back upon us : 'Tis but a spinning the same Web ; and that which may serve a Child to play with, but can never be a fit Entertainment for grown Men.

Shall

Shall we then wish it for nobler Ends ; that we may grow wiser and better, and aspire to higher degrees of Virtue and Perfection ; that we may do more Good, and be more useful in our Generations ? This, indeed, carries the Appearance of an excellent Disposition ; but They that know us, will not be imposed upon by it : For Who shall teach, Who shall improve us ? Alas ! That little which is committed to our Trust, is so ill used, that we cannot have the Confidence to ask for more. We neglect what we have already, and suffer the greatest Part of it to slip thro' our Fingers. We squander it away profusely upon Vanity and Trifles ; nay, we abuse and misemploy it upon Wickedness and Vice. And yet after all this Unfaithfulness and Folly, we cry and complain for more, and think our selves ill dealt with, that we have not enough. Enough for what ? For the same insignificant and ill Purposes to be sure ; for That wou'd be the Consequence of a more liberal Allowance too. But, supposing Men serious in this Matter ; and that they wou'd really do as they pretend ; yet of what Use wou'd this vast Treasure of Knowledge and Experience prove ? For the Soul must change its Dwelling at one time or other ; and whenever That dislodges, all our Wisdom goes with it. Since therefore This cannot stay always, why should we take it ill that it stays so little a time ? For if it sink into a State of Oblivion, and all must be lost, What mighty Difference is there, whether this be done sooner or later ? But if it removes into a better Condition, and be (as it really will be) put into a State of clearer Vision, and more perfect Knowledge, why should we desire to have that Happiness delay'd, and kept back from us ?

But you will say, perhaps, This *Gift of Life* is very unequally distributed ; for there are some

Creatures that live three or four times as long as the usual Age of Man. I might answer, That the Accounts we have of this kind are many, if not most of them, fabulous. But waving That, and allowing the Objection ; yet it must be confess'd withal, that some, nay, the much greater part of Animals, live not near so long ; some never arrive at a Fourth part of our Years, and very few ever come to an equal length with us. Now pray, what Right, what Privilege, what Reason hath Man to challenge a longer Duration here, than the rest of his Fellow-Creatures have a Title to ? Where did God ever grant him such a Charter, or how will he be able to make good the Claim ? Is it reasonable He should be indulg'd more than They, because he puts out his Time to better Interest, and employs it upon Business more noble and sublime in it self, more worthy and deserving of this Favour, than They are capable of ? I greatly fear, this Argument may be thrown back in our Faces, and prove the strongest Plea against us : For sure He ought rather to be cut shorter than the rest, as a Punishment for his Abuse and Mismanagement. And in this He is singular, and stands alone. The whole Creation cannot furnish a Parallel ; not any one Instance of this Blessing so grievously perverted ; not such another *Monster* of Wickedness and Unfaithfulness, of Ingratitude and Baseness, of Intemperance and Debauchery, and all manner of disorderly Living. This *Charge* hath been sufficiently proved upon him already, when we stated the Comparison betwixt Him and the Beasts ; and therefore I urge my Point, and ask that Question once more, What Benefit wou'd a longer Life be to him ? Nay, I back that with a Second, and add, What an Inconvenience would it be to Himself, and how mischievous to the World ? It would make his

own

own Account the heavier, his Crimes and Arrears the greater, and it wou'd encourage him to yet more Extravagancies than he is guilty of already: For this very Consideration would put him upon bolder and more desperate Attempts. The shortness of his Continuance in the World, as Matters now stand, is some Check to his wild Career, and breaks all his Measures; and the Uncertainty of it abates and damps his Fury: But if these Restraints were removed, and Assurances given of a larger Term, Nothing would be able to stop him; his Projects would be always New, without Number, without End; and he would *live* as if he were to *live for ever*. You see how strong these Inclinations are now. He cannot but feel and fear his own Mortality; and yet these Reflections are so over-balanc'd by a corrupt Principle within, that he cannot forbear holding fast what he hath, and eager Desires and Pursuits of what he hath not, and forming vast and very distant Designs, as if he were really Immortal.

* Tis a just Reproof which *Seneca* gives, *Ye live, as if Life were never to have an End. The Frailty of your Nature is never thought of; or, if it be, 'tis remembered to no purpose; for at the same time that your Fears are infinite, and this proves you Mortal; your Desires are infinite too, as if you look'd upon your selves to be Immortal.*

Again; What necessity is there for all those great and goodly Designs, and that mighty Business, which is pretended to merit a *longer Life* for Mankind, than any other Animal? Does Nature require more back than is given us? No sure.

* *Tanquam semper victuri vivitis. Nunquam vobis fragilitas vestra succurrit; omnia tanquam Mortales timetis, tanquam Immortales concupiscitis. Seneca.*

Men have no just ground of Complaint; but abundant Cause for Indignation and Remorse, for treating themselves no better. The *Life* allow'd us is enough to answer All the Purposes of it; but the Misery is, that we turn Negligent and Prodigals, and do not husband it so well as we might and ought to do: It is not short of it self, but we make it so, by wasting it unprofitably. We labour under no Wants of this kind, but what our own Prodigality brings upon us; and are scandalously lavish of the Thing we pretend to need most. * We lose it, we sell it, we throw it away; we vilifie it, and complain that it hangs upon our Hands; we are at some Pains to pass it away, as if it were a Matter of no Worth at all; as if our Stomachs were over-loaded, and we sick and cloy'd with too great Abundance. There is not any of us, but is guilty of one or other of these Three Faults; either employing it Ill, or not employing it at All, or employing it Insignificantly, and to no purpose. † *A great part of our Life (says Seneca) is run off in doing what we should not; much the greatest in doing nothing at all; and almost the whole of it in doing things by the by, and such as are not our proper Business.* No Body takes Pains in learning how to Live; but All lay out their Studies and their Time upon any other Subject, rather than This. And yet This, like all other Arts, is not to be attained slightly and easily; a Man cannot be expert in it without long Practice, much Diligence, and very sollicitous Application of the Mind. Some put off all Thought of *living well*, till they can *live no longer*. They spend the Vi-

* Non inopes vitæ, sed prodigi.

† Magna vitæ pars elabitur malè agentibus, maxima nihil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus.

gour and Flower of their Years in Toil, and Trouble, and Folly; and propose great Enjoyments to themselves hereafter, and wondrous Comforts in their declining Age. How are they sure they shall live to that Age? But if they were, what a wretched Madness is This? 'Tis directly as if a Man should set his Cask to running, and let out all the best and sprightly Liquor, that he may reserve the Dregs for his own Drinking. Age is the *Lee and Sediment of Life*; All we can do then, is to try if we can sustain and sweeten it a little; but to defer our Satisfaction till then, is to give them quite away, and lose them for altogether. Nay, many never go thus far, but finish their Day without ever beginning their Work; and go off the Stage without considering why they were brought on, or what Part they were to act. * *Some (says the Philosopher) begin to live when they should make an End; others cease to live before ever they begun: Among the many Mischiefs that Folly brings upon us, This is not the least, That it is always beginning to live.* We think of Business, and intend to set about it; but make no Progress at all, nor bring any thing to Perfection.

The World is a Theatre, and our present Life in it, the Beginning and the End of a Play; our Birth draws the Curtain, and our Death shuts it up again: 'Tis a Comedy of Errors; a constant Succession of Accidents and Adventures, a Contexture and Chain of several Miseries linked closely, and interwoven within one another; nothing but Evil on every side; That which passes off, and that which approaches, and comes into its place; and these drive out, and push forward

3.
Description
of it.

* Quidam vivere incipiunt cum desinendum: Quidam ante desiverunt quam inciperent: Inter cætera mala, hoc quoque habet stultitia, semper incipit vivere.

each other, as the Waves of the Sea do in their Eb-
bings and Flowings; Trouble and Disquiet are al-
ways at hand; but for Happiness, we are cheated
with the empty Shadow of it. Blindness and Insen-
sibility take up the Beginning of our Lives; La-
bour and Anxious Care, the Middle; Weakness and
Pain, the Latter End; but Ignorance and Error
reach from the Beginning to the End: These are
inseparable, and keep us Company quite through.

4. The *Life* of Man hath its Inconveniences and
Miseries of several sorts. Some of them are in
Common, extending to all Persons, and all Times;
Others are Peculiar and Successive, and distin-
guish'd by the different Parts, and Age, and parti-
cular Seasons and Accidents of Life: As Childhood,
Youth, Maturity, Man's Estate, and Old Age; for
Each of these hath its distinct Calamities; some
Embassments and Incumbrances, which may be
properly call'd its own.

5. When *Youth* and *Old Age* come to be weigh'd one
against the other, it hath been usual to give the
Advantage to the latter: And most Authors speak
of Age with Honour and Respect, as having at-
tain'd to greater degrees of Wisdom, more maturi-
ty of Judgment, more Moderation and Temper:
All which good Qualities are marvellously cry'd
up, with a Design to put Youth out of Counte-
nance, and to charge upon it the contrary Cha-
racters of Vice and Folly, Licentiousness and Ex-
travagance. But with the leave of those, who have
thus decided the Controversie, I must take Liberty
to declare, that this Verdict is in my Opinion very
unjust: For, in good truth, the Defects and the
Vices of Age are more in Number, worse in Qua-
lity, and less to be resisted or recover'd, than those
that are peculiar to Youth. Years deform our
Minds as much as our Bodies; bring Wrinkles
there as well as in our Faces, and turn our Tem-
pers

pers fowre and mouldy with long keeping. The Soul keeps pace with the Body ; Both are spent, and Both decay, till at last we grow so weak, so perfectly helpless, as in respect of both, to verifie that Proverb, of *Old Men* being *twice Children*. Age is a necessary, but a strong Disease ; it loads us insensibly with grievous Imperfections, and then contrives to cover the Shame of them with creditable Names. What is in effect no other than moroseness of Humour, a peevish dislike of the present Enjoyments, and Disability to do as the Man did heretofore, passes for Wisdom and Gravity, Experience, and an Insight into the Vanity of the World. But Wisdom is somewhat much more noble than all this comes to, and far above making use of such mean Instruments. There is a vast difference between *growing older* and *growing wiser* ; between forsaking all Vice, and the changing one for another ; and, as it often happens in this Case, changing for the Worse. Old Age condemns the Pleasures and Gaieties of Youth ; but how much of this must be allowed to its not being now able to relish them any longer ? It is like *Esop's* Dog, hates and despises what it cannot enjoy. But This is not to disdain and give over Pleasure ; it is rather to be disdain'd and given over by it. Pleasure is always Airy and Entertaining ; and these are Persons no longer for its Turn. But why should they cast a Reflection upon That, which is due to themselves ? Why shou'd Impotence corrupt their Judgment ? For this, if impartially consulted, would tell Young Men, that there is Vice in their Pleasures ; and Old Men, that there is Pleasure in Vice. And if this were rightly understood, and frankly confest, Youth would be a great deal the better, and Old Age not one whit the worse.

The Vices more peculiar to *Youth* are, Rashness and Heat ; Forwardness, and an unguarded Conversation ; Debauchery, and all manner of Sensual Excess. And these are in some Degree natural to that State ; the Effects of Warmth and Vigour, and the Boilings of a Florid Blood : All which, as they need and ought to be corrected, so they have something to say in their own Excuse. But what Apology shall we make for the ill Qualities that attend *Old Age* ? The lightest and least of which are vain Arrogance and Pride ; a troublesome and peremptory way of Conversing, and an engrossing all the Talk to themselves ; froward and unsociable Humours, Superstition and Whimsie ; Love of Riches when past the use of them ; fordid Avarice, and fear of Death ; which generally is not (as some have favourably interpreted the Case) the effect of a cold Blood, and low Spirits, and of Courage damp'd by these Natural Causes ; but it proceeds from long Custom, and Acquaintance, and a foolish Fondness for the World ; by which the Old Gentleman hath corrupted his Judgment, and hath a greater Tenderness for it, than young Men, who enjoy more, and know less of it. Besides these, there are Envy, and Ill-Nature, and Injustice ; but the most exquisite and ridiculous Folly of all, is, that Affectation of a severe, and grave, and wise Character ; and hoping to gain Respect and Deference, by an Austere Look, and Scornful Behaviour ; which indeed does but provoke Laughter, and become it self a Jest, while it pretends to extort Observance and Fear : For the Young Fellows combine together against this formal Austerity, which they see put on only for a Disguise ; and with a design to amuse and affright them into Reverence, where real Merit, which would engage it, is wanting. In short, The Vices of Old Age are so numerous

on

on the One Hand, and the Infirmities of it on the Other, and Both together conspire to render it so despicable, that the best and most saving Game it can play, is to secure Mens Affections, and to win them by Methods of Kindness, and Affability, and Good-Nature. For Churlishness, and an Imperious Humour, and whatever aims at Fear and Dominion, are not by any means Weapons fit for These Persons to manage. The affecting so very much Awe, does by no means become them; and if the thing could really be compassed (which it rarely, or never is) yet they should much rather chuse to render themselves Agreeable; and think the Love, and Respect, and Honour of young Persons, more to be desired, than the keeping them in Constraint and Fear, and Tyrannizing over all that converse with them.

THE

THE

Fourth Consideration

CONCERNS

Man, with regard to his Manners, Humour,
and Condition, &c.

A general Draught of Man.

THE Ancient Sages, and as many as have apply'd themselves to the study of Humane Nature, when they represent *Man* to us, have this remarkable Agreement among them, That in all their Draughts and Descriptions, their principal Lines are the same. For they All conspire to paint him, as a Creature made up of these Four Things; *Vanity, Weakness, Inconstancy, and Misery*. They style him *The Prey of Time; The Sport and Geugaw of Fortune; The Image of Inconstancy; The Pattern, nay rather the Prodigy of Weakness; the Balance of Envy and Misery; a Dream; a Phantome; Dust and Ashes; a Vapour; a Morning-Dew; a Flower that presently fadeth; in the Morning Green and growing up, in the Evening cut down, dry'd up, and withered; a Wind; Grass; a Bubble; a Shadow; a Leaf born away by the Wind; a Sponge*
full

full of Excrements in his Beginning ; a Bundle of Infirmities and Miseries in the Middle State ; Rottenness and a Nuisance, and Food for Worms, in his Latter End. In a Word, The most Despicable, the most Calamitous Part of the whole Creation. *Job*, who was as well skill'd, and as much experienc'd in this Subject, as any Man ever was, hath drawn him at full length, in his true Colours and Proportions : And *Solomon* after him hath done the same in his Books. *Pliny's* Piece of him is in *Little*, but extremely like the Original, when he calls him * The most wretched, and yet the proudest and most insolent Creature in the whole World. Under the Former of these Attributes, (That of Wretched) he comprehends all the Characters already mention'd, and the Descriptions other Writers have given of him. The Second (That of Proudest) concerns another Head of very great Consideration ; and in these Two Words he seems to have comprized all that can be said upon the Matter. These Two Qualities, I confess, seem utterly inconsistent, and destructive of each other. For what in Appearance more distant , what more contradictory, than Emptiness and Presumption , than Misery and Pride ? So strange, so monstrous a Composition is *Man*, in which these wide Extremes are Ingredients.

Now the very different Parts whereof Man consists, Body and Spirit, make it exceeding hard to give a tolerable Description of him entire, and altogether. Some charge all that can be spoken in Disparagement of Man, upon the Body, and represent him a most excellent Creature, complete and superior to any other, in regard of

* Solum ut certum sit nihil esse certi, nec miserius quicquam homine aut superbius.

his Mind. But this Method is so far from just, that, on the contrary, All that is truly ill, not in Man only, but in the whole World, is the Product and Contrivance of the Mind. And much the greatest Part of the Vanity, Inconstancy, Misery, and Presumption, with which Humane Nature is debased, resides in this Part of us ; which gave *Democritus* occasion to call the Mind *An unknown World of Miseries* ; and *Plutarch* proves it by a Tract written on purpose, and upon this very Subject. This General Consideration then, which regards Man in his own Nature, and in the Gross, shall consist of these Five Particulars : *Vanity, Weakness, Inconstancy, Misery, and Presumption* ; Which are indeed the most Natural, the most Inseparable and Universal Qualities, of any that belong to him ; tho' the Two last seem more intimately to concern, and touch him most to the quick. I add too, that there are some Things reducible to several of these Five Heads ; and it is not easy to determine which of them they most properly belong to, particularly the Topics of *Weakness* and *Misery*, between which there is great Affinity and Resemblance.

* *Utrum graviores morbi animi quàm corporis. Plut. Lib.*

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVI.

I. Vanity.

OF all the Qualities that belong to Humane Nature, *Vanity* is the most Essential. The very Peculiar of Man, and Predominate over the rest. For, whether we regard Moral Evil, or Misfortune, or Inconstancy, or Irresolution, or any other ill Property, (of which, God knows, this Soil always bears a blentiful Crop) yet it abounds in nothing so much as in Worthlessness, and Emptiness; Senseless Folly, and Ridiculous Vanity. Upon this Account *Democritus* was certainly more in the right, when he laugh'd at all Mankind, and treated them with Scorn and Contempt, than *Heracclitus* was, who wept and afflicted himself; and so express'd some sort of Esteem for Men, as if he thought them worth his Trouble and Concern. And *Diogenes* took a better Course in reproaching and disdaining them, than *Timon* did, who profess'd to hate Mankind, and fled away from all Conversation. *Pindar* hath given a livelier Image of This, than any Author besides, in that bold Stroke, where he hath joyned the Two vainest Things in the World together, to finish his Idea, calling *Man* the *Dream of a Shadow*. This Consideration hath driven some Wise Men to so very great a Contempt of Humane Nature, that when a Difficult, Bold, and Noble Undertaking was mention'd to them, they would frequently reply; That all the World was not worth a Man's giving himself any Trouble for it, so said *Statilius*

to *Brutus*, when they discoursed the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*) That a Wise Man ought not to do any Thing upon any Account but his own. And that it was by no means fit, that Wise Men and Wisdom should suffer any Disquiet, or be expos'd to any Hazard, for the Sake of Fools and Sots.

2.
*Vanity
of the
Thoughts.*

This Vanity hath great variety of Ways to express it self by. As, First of all, In our Thoughts, and secret Conferences with our Selves, which are very often even worse than vain, frivolous and ridiculous. And yet in these trifling Imaginations we spend a great deal of Time, and are not sensible of it. We enter upon them, continue in them, and come out of them again, without ever being conscious of our Motions: Which makes the Vanity double, and argues great Inadvertency, and Disregard of our selves. Here is one walking in his Dining-Room full of Care to manage his Feet so, that each Turn may be compass'd with such a Number of Steps, and that such Parts of the Boards only may be trod upon: A Second forms, with great Seriousness, long Harangues to himself, composes a Scene of Action, what he would say, and how he would maintain his Port, if he were a King, or a Pope, or some other Thing, which he is so far from, that he knows it is impossible he ever should be such. And thus he feeds upon Wind, nay, upon somewhat yet less substantial, upon a Thing that never had, nor ever will have, any sort of Existence. Another is taken up in Contrivance for the Management of his Person, the Affecting a particular Motion of his Body, an Air of his Face, a Singularity of Address, odd Sentences, and uncommon Pronunciations; and This he is infinitely delighted with, as a Thing extremely graceful and engaging, and what other People must needs admire, and be taken with too. Then how prodigiously vain and foolish are we in our
Wishes

Wishes and Desires ; from whence spring our ridiculous Opinions, and our yet more ridiculous Hopes and Expectations ? And This again, not only at such times as we surfeit with Leisure, and have no other Business to employ our Thoughts ; but it very often interrupts our serious and most important Affairs, and breaks our Thread in the very Heat of Action. So *natural* is *Vanity* to us, and so *prevalent* over us, that it spirits us away, and plucks us forcibly from Truth and Solidity, and real Substance ; to lose us in Air, and Emptiness, and Nothing.

But, of all Vanities, the most refined in Folly, is that anxious Care of what shall happen hereafter, when we are gone, and cannot feel it. We stretch our Desires and Affections beyond our Persons and Subsistence ; and are much concerned for Things to be done to us, when we shall be in no Capacity of receiving them. How importunately do we covet Praise and Applause after Death ? And how egregious a Folly is this ? What can be vainer ? This is not Ambition, as Men may be apt to imagine ; for that desires a sensible Honour, such as a Man can enjoy, and reap some Benefit from. So far as our Good Name indeed is capable of doing Service to our Children, or Relations, or Friends, that stay behind, I own there is Use of it ; and am content Men should desire it in Proportion to this Convenience. But to propose That, as our own Happiness, which can never reach, or in any degree affect our selves, is meer Vanity. Such another Folly is Theirs, who perplex their Lives with Fears of their Wives marrying Second Husbands ; and passionately desire they wou'd continue single ; nay, are content to purchase the Gratification of this Whimsy, at a dear rate, by leaving in their Wills a great Part of their Estates to their Widows, upon this Condition. What an insupportable Folly ? and,

3.
Concern
for Futu-
rity,

as it sometimes falls out, what horrible Injustice is this? How directly the Reverse of those Heroick Spirits in Former Ages, who, upon their Death-Beds, advis'd their Wives to marry again, as soon as Decency and Prudence would permit; and to render themselves useful by bringing Children to the Publick? Some again, conjure their Friends to wear such a Ring, or a Lock of Hair, or some other Relick, as a constant Remembrance of them, when they are dead; or leave Directions for some particular Thing to be done about their own Bodies; What can we make of all this? Hath it not a very untoward Aspect? Methinks, it looks, as if Men could be content to part with *Life*; but could not even then submit to part with *Vanity* at any rate.

4. Another *Vanity* is this, That the Generality of Mankind live for Other People only, and not for Themselves. We are not half so much concern'd what we really and truly are in our own Persons and Dispositions, as what the World takes us for, and how we stand in Character and Reputation abroad. And thus we frequently cheat our selves, and cast away the true Happiness and Advantages of Life, and do a thousand inconvenient Things; tho' at the same time we torture our selves to be agreeable to the Standers-by, and to put on what we know is most in Vogue. And this is plainly so, not only in our Estates, and our Bodies; The Table, the Equipage, the Furniture, the Dress, the Figure, all adapted to the present Mode, and what the World expects from Persons in our Circumstances; But, which is a great deal worse, and more deplorable; in the Advantages of the Mind the Observation holds too. For even These are thought of no Use or Worth, unless they draw the Eyes and Approbation of other People. And Virtue it self is neglected and disesteem'd, if it be not publickly

lickly acknowledged and commended: As if the Testimonies of ones own Breast were no Satisfaction ; As if those Things which were given for our proper Use and Benefit, had lost all their Efficacy, and changed their Nature, when Others do not see, and share in them, as well as our Selves.

Nor is our *Vanity* confin'd to simple Thoughts, and Desires, and calm Discourse ; but it often rises higher, puts both Body and Mind into violent Agitations and Pains. Men often tease and torment themselves more, for Matters of little or no Consequence, than for those which are of nearest Concern, and upon which their All depends. Our Soul is frequently thrown into violent Disorders, by little Whymfies, a meer Fancy, a Dream, a Shadow, an empty Amusement, without Substance, without Ground ; and works it self up to all the Excesses of Anger and Revenge, Joy and Grief, and Confusion ; and all This with building Castles in the Air. The Ceremony of taking leave, the Idea of some particular Gestures in a parting Friend, strikes us deeper, and gives us more real Trouble, than all the Reasoning in the World, upon Matters of greatest Moment, is able to do. The Sound of a Name repeated, some certain Words and melancholy Accents pronounc'd pathetically ; nay, dumb Sighs, and vehement Exclamations, go to our very Hearts. Tricks which all your former Haranguers, Enthusiasts, Buffoons, and Others, whose Trade it is to move the Passions, know, and practise in great Perfection. And this airy Blast sometimes surprizes the most cautious, and transports the most resolved, unless they set a more than common Guard upon themselves. So strong an Influence hath *Vanity*, and We so mighty a Tendency to it. Nay, as if it were not Reproach sufficient

5.
Commo-
tions of the
Mind.

to be agitated and tossed about with Toys and Trifles, even Falshood and Cheat hath the same Effect, and (which is strange) even when we know it is nothing but *Falshood* and *Cheat*. Such Delight do we take, such Industry do we use, to bubble our selves with our Eyes open, and to feed upon Fable and Nothing. * *How dextrous we are to deceive our selves*, we need no other Instances than those that cry heartily, and fall into violent Passions upon hearing dismal Stories, and seeing deep Tragedies, at the same time that they know the moving Parts of these to have been invented and composed for Entertainment and Diversion, at the Discretion of the Romancer, or the Poet: Nay, some of them meer Fables; so far from Truth now, that they never were true in any Circumstance at all. Shall I mention one *Vanity* more? That of a Wretch possess'd, fond and dying for Love of an ugly old Hag; One, whose Age and Deformity he knows, and knows that she hates and despises him too; and, notwithstanding all this, is bewitched with a painted Face, and Colours well laid; the Affectation of a Coquette, or some other Imposture, which he sees and confesses to be an Imposture; and all the while runs mad, and owns no other Charm, but what he perfectly sees thro' the Fallacy of.

6. But to shew you what Footing *Vanity* hath got, and how close it sticks to Humane Nature; we will now pass from private Deportment and Dispositions, to Publick Conversation; by which This will plainly appear, to be no particular and personal Defect, but the *Vice* of the whole Species in common. And here, what *Vanity*, what Loss of Time

* Ad fallendum nosmet ipsos ingeniosissimi sumus.

may we observe in the Impertinencies of Visits, Howd'you's, Forms of Address, mutual Entertainments; in the Offices of Civility, set Speeches, and Ceremonious Behaviour; in Proffers of Service, in Promises, and Praises? How many fulsome Strains of Complement, what Infinite Hypocrisie, Falshood and Deceit? How open and barefac'd, so that the Person that utters it, and he to whom it is directed, and every one that stands by, sees and knows, and is satisfied it is false? Thus Conversation is now become little else, than a Tryal of Skill for Diffimulation; and looks like a common Confederacy, where Men have combin'd together to lye, and bubble, and abuse, and make a Jest of one another. Nay, good Manners require, that at the same time a Man tells you an impudent Lye, you should return him your Thanks, for what you know he intends not a word of; and He again, who is satisfied you believe not a Syllable of what he says, receives those Acknowledgments of yours with a set Face, and an Air of Confidence; and thus you stand cringing, and fawning, and dodging for the last Word; each striving to begin, and fearing to leave off, and shrugging, when both are heartily weary, and would fain be well quit of one another. What Inconveniencies are we content to endure for these Formalities? We expose our Selves to the Air, to Heat, to Cold; disturb the Peace of our Lives, and are in perpetual Pain for these courtly Follies; We neglect our Business of Weight and Consequence, and attend upon Wind and Smoke. We are vain at the Expence of our Ease, nay, of our Health, of our very Life. And what can prove Mankind more enslav'd to *Vanity* than This, That *Levity* and Accident tramples *Substance* under Foot, and Air carries away solid Body, whither it will? Especially, when a Man
that

that behaves himself otherwise, must be look'd upon as a Sot, and a Fool, one that knows nothing of the World, nor what becomes him to do in it: Thus to play this Farce dextrously, is the greatest Mark of Wit; and the most affected *Harlequin* in it, is the finest Gentleman; but not to be Vain is contemptible Stupidity, and he that declines playing the Fool, betrays his own want of Sense and good Breeding. Nay, when there is no need of all this Form and Complaisance, *Vanity* hangs about us still: Witness the freer Discourses of the most familiar Acquaintance, and intimate Friends. How many trifling Impertinences, Falshoods, Banter, (I omit the wicked and mischievous Part, because that falls not under this Head) How many arrogant and vain Boastings go to the making up this sort of Conversation too? Men are so industrious to take, to seek, to make occasions of Talking of themselves, or of somewhat that belongs to them; They do it with so sensible, and yet so nauseous a Pleasure; if they think they have said or done a good thing, or that somewhat they are possess'd of is better than ordinary, They are so uneasie till they have publish'd and enlarg'd upon it; as if all their Wit and Worth were lost, unless other People were made sensible of it too: They catch at the very first Convenience, cry it up to the greatest Degree imaginable; nay, they perfectly bring it in by Head and Shoulders, and interrupt all other Discourse to start This: And when any Body else is Talking, we presently thrust our selves in, and take an Advantage of shewing our Parts; so eager are we that People shou'd understand what we are, and have a regard for us; and not for Us only, but for every thing that we have a regard for.

As a yet greater Demonstration, how absolute a Sovereignty *Vanity* hath obtain'd over Humane Nature, we need but recollect the most considerable Revolutions that ever happen'd in the World, and the Occasions of them: For thus it will soon appear, that the most general and most formidable Convulsions of Cities and Kingdoms, and whole Empires; the Seditions, and Revolts, and Fates of Armies; the bloodiest Battels, the barbaroudest Murders, the sharpest Disputes, and most implacable Quarrels, have proceeded from very trifling, ridiculous, and insignificant Causes. Witness the long War between *Troy* and *Greece*, the Piques of *Sylla* and *Marius*, and all the Confusions that follow'd from thence, in the Civil Wars of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and *Augustus* and *Anthony*. The Poets have represented this well enough, by pretending an Apple to have been the *Boutefeu*; the Original of all that Blood and Devastation in *Asia* and *Greece*. And indeed the first Springs, upon which these vast Events move, are commonly Things of no consideration; but That which begins very small, swells to a vast Bulk afterwards; and the blowing it up thus, is an irrefragable Proof of the Vanity and Folly of Mankind. Nay, many times an occasional Thing goes further with us than the principal Cause; and some paltry little Circumstances make more sensible Impressions, and gall us more than the main Matter to which they retain; as *Cæsar's* Robe put *Rome* into greater Passion and Concern, than his Death it self, and the Two and twenty Stabs in his Body had done before.

The Last, and indeed the most exquisite *Vanity*, is our seeking with so much Industry and Passion, and pleasing our selves so highly, nay, placing our very *Happiness* in Advantages, which have neither real Worth, nor Necessity to recommend Them:

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7.
Publick
Commerci-
ons.

8.
Notions of
Happiness
and Con-
tent.

But as they are trifling and frivolous in themselves, so they are such as we may be very happy, and live very comfortably and conveniently without. Whereas on the other hand, those that are necessary, and essential to our true Happiness, find little or no part of the Regard due to them; and every Body is indifferent whether he hath Them or not. Thus the Condition of Man is all Air and Speculation; His whole *Happiness* imaginary; Opinion and Dream is all he pursues; and in this he stands Alone, and cannot match himself in the whole World. *God* hath all *Good* in Essence and Reality, and *Evil* in Notion and Understanding only. *Man*, on the contrary, hath only fantastical *Good*, but his *Evils* are weighty and substantial. *Beasts* are not satisfy'd with Opinion, nor do They feed upon Fancy, but require somewhat that is present, and sensible, and real, to content them. *Vanity* is reserv'd to Man for his Portion, the Inheritance and peculiar Right of his Nature. He runs, he bustles, he fights, he dies, he flies, he pursues; he grasps at a Shadow, he worships the Wind; he sweats and toils all Day, and in the Evening, when his Gains come to be computed, a Mote is all the Wages he receives for his Work.

CHAP.

C H A P. XXXVII.

II. *Weakness.*

WE are now advancing to the Second Head, under which Humane Nature is to be considered; and This cannot be any Surprize, after what hath been said already. For how should so much Vanity be otherwise than Feeble and Frail? Accordingly, this Frailty is frankly confessed by all People, and several Instances of it reckoned up, which are too Plain not to be discerned: But then it is not observed in its due Proportion, nor in all Cases where it really hath a Part; as in those, for Instance, which seem to have more of *Strength*, and a less Mixture of *Weakness*; such as Desire; The Use and Enjoyment of what a Man is posselt of; In his Good and his Evil; in short, such as Man takes a Pride in, and values himself upon. And yet, even These supposed Glories and Excellencies of his Nature, are undeniable Arguments of his Weakness. This may possibly seem a Paradox at first Sight; but a few particular Reflections, will give us a clearer and more distinct View of the Thing.

First, As for Desires; It is manifest a Man cannot fix upon any Thing, not even in Wish and Imagination, so as to sit down with That, and rest himself contented. We have it not in our Power, to Chuse what is necessary, and fit for us; nor to say, in Particular, what This would be. And if Providence in Wisdom and Kindness, bestow what we desire, and what really is fit, upon us, yet it does not satisfy. We are Eternally gaping at some-
what

I.

2.

In desiring
and chu-
sing.

what Future and Unknown ; and find, that what is present never fills, never contents ; but what we have not, is ever esteemed above it. Could we suppose a Man so far indulged, that a Blank should be put into his Hands, to write his own Terms ; yet even that Fortune of his own Carving, would not be so to his Palate, but that in a short time he would retract it ; some Alterations and Amendments, something to be added or taken away : In short, he desires he knows not what. How well soever the Particulars may please, yet when the Account comes to be summed up, nothing contents him ; for, to say the Truth, he is uneasie, and discontented with his own self.

3.
In Using
and Enjoy-
ing.

His *Weakness* is still greater, and more conspicuous, in the Use and Enjoyment of what he hath, than in the Desire of what he hath not ; and that in several Respects. First, in that he cannot manage, nor reap the Benefit of Things as they really are, and in their Native Purity ; but there is a Necessity of disguising, and adulterating them, that they may be accommodated to our Purpose. Elements, Metals, and other Things in their Primitive Simplicity are perfectly useless to us ; Pleasures and Delights, are never to be enjoyed without a Mixture of Pain and Inconvenience.

* ——— *For still some bitter Thought destroys
Our fancied Mirth, and Poisons all our Joys.* Creech.

Extremity of Pleasure, carries with it an Air of Melancholy and Complaint ; and the highest Gratifications of Sense, are Weakness, and Faintings : And that which gives true and perfect Content-

* ——— *Medio de fonte leporum.
Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.* Lucret. L. 4.

ment

ment hath much more Solidity, and a severe Satisfaction, than of Gaiety and Transport in it.

† *Even Happiness, it self, if it do not moderate it self, oppresses and destroys it self.* Which gave occasion to one of the Ancients to say, *That God sold us all the good Things we receive from him ; meaning, that none of them are Pure and Unmingled ; and we cannot be said to have That gratis, for which we pay the Price of that Evil and Uneasiness which attends it.* The Case is directly the same with Grief too, for This is never without some sort of Pleasure annexed to it. || *Pleasure and Pain, tho' in their Natures the most unlike that can be, are yet so contrived, by Nature, as to be constant Companions, and go Hand in Hand——*

*Even Tears are shed for Pleasure and Relief,
And Humorous Man turns Epicure in Grief.*

Thus all Things in this World are mingled and tempered with their Contraries ; and it is not amiss to observe, what Masters in Painting teach us, That the very same Motions and Muscles of the Face, are employed both in Lauging and Crying. And common Experience shews us, that excessive Laughter brings Tears. There is no good Quality in us, without some Tincture of Vice, as shall be shewn in its proper Place hereafter ; nor is there any Evil, without some abatement of Good *. Every Misfortune is capable of being turned to Advantage ; there is no Good without Evil, no Evil without Good in Man ; every Thing is a Mixture, and nothing comes to our Hands sincere and

† *Ipse felicitas se nisi temperat, premit.*

|| *Labor voluptasque dissimillima naturâ, societate quadam naturali inter se sunt juncta ; est quædam flere voluptas.*

* *Nullum sine authoramento malum est.*

unmingled. *Secondly*, All that happens to us, is mismanaged, and taken by the wrong Handle; Our Palates are humourfom and uncertain, and know not how to relish Things as they ought; and from This variety of Tastes, it is, That the endless Disputes, and Inreconcilable Opinions, concerning the *Chief Good*, have proceeded. The very best Things, oftentimes, decay and die upon our Hands; are corrupted by our Weakness, or our Wickedness; or are lost and come to nothing, for want of Ability to make the Best of them; nay, sometimes they do not only turn to No Account, but to a very Ill One; and what is Good in it self, proves to Us, a mighty Evil, and manifest Disadvantage.

4.
*In Good
and Evil.*

I.
*Virtue and
Vice.*

*See Adver-
tisements
at the End
of the Cha-
pter.*

But the Weakness of Humane Nature is most copiously display'd, with regard to Good and Evil, to Virtue and Vice. My Meaning is, That a Man with all his Industry and Endeavours, cannot be entirely Good, nor entirely Wicked. He is Master of nothing, in short. Upon this occasion we will consider Three Points. The first is, That it is not possible to exercise every kind of Virtue; The Reason is, that some of them are incompatible, and can never dwell together; the same Persons, and the same Circumstances, are not capable of them. As for Instance, The Chastity of a Virgin, and that of a Widow; the Virtues of a Single, and those of a Married Life; These Latter in each Kind, Widowhood and Marriage, being Conditions of much more Encumbrance, and Trouble, more Difficulty, and therefore more Virtue, than the quiet, and undisturbed State of Celibacy and Virginity; though Those on the other hand, have the Advantage in Purity, and Grace, and Freedom from Business and Care. The Constancy and Greatness of Mind, which exerts it self in Poverty and Want, in Affliction and Pain, is ve-
ry

ry different from that which preserves a Man's Temper in Prosperity and Plenty ; and the Patience and Thankfulness of the Receiving Beggar, from the Liberality of the Giver. And as This holds in Virtues, so does it much more in Vices, several of which are not only very far distant, but diametrically opposite to each other.

It is no less observable, Secondly, That many times our Matters are so order'd, as not to permit the Performance of such Actions as relate to One Virtue, without encroaching upon some Other, and doing what is inconsistent with, or offensive to that very Virtue we are practising ; because Things often interfere and obstruct us, so that we cannot satisfy One Duty, but at the Expence of Another. This is like what our Proverb calls *Robbing Peter to pay Paul* ; and yet thus it is ; not from any Deficiency in Virtue it self, but from the Impotence and Insufficiency of Humane Nature, which is too short, too narrow, to give or receive any certain, constant, universal Rule of acting virtuously ; and Man cannot so contrive his Methods, and provide himself with Helps, and Occasions of doing Good, but that they will frequently cross and interrupt one another. Thus *Charity* and *Justice* are sometimes impracticable at once. If I engage against my Relation, or my Friend, in a Battle, *Justice* requires me to take his Life, and treat him as an Adversary ; *Charity* and Affection bid me spare and preserve him as a Friend. Suppose a Man mortally wounded, and that he hath nothing to expect, but the languishing out the miserable Remains of Life in extreme Torture ; it were certainly an Act of Charity to put this wretched Creature out of his Pain, by killing him out-right, as the Person who kill'd *Saul* alledg'd for himself ; and yet this is such a Mercy as *Justice* would call one to an Account for ; and

David punished it accordingly. Nay, the being found near such a Person in a lonely Place, when Search is made for the Murderer, tho' one be there with Intentions of Kindness, is exceeding dangerous ; and the least that can come of it, is, the being made to undergo the Course of the Law ; and brought upon Trial for a Misfortune which one had no Hand in. And this last Instance shews, how *Justice* does not only offend against *Charity*, but also how it entangles and obstructs it self, according to that most true Observation. * *The Extremity of Right is the Extremity of Wrong.*

6. The Third Case, and indeed, the most remarkable of all, is, The Necessity Men are sometimes under of using Evil Means to deliver themselves from some greater Evil ; or for the compassing some Good End. So that Things in themselves not Good, nay, much otherwise, are sometimes legitimated, and have Credit and Authority given to them, for the Sake of the Purposes they serve : As if Men might, nay, as if they must, be Wicked in some degree, in Order to becoming Good in a greater. And this not only Policy and Justice, but Religion too, furnishes Examples of.

7. In *Politicks*, How many indirect Practices are allow'd, and daily made use of ? And this not merely upon Permission and Connivence, but even by exprefs Direction and Approbation of the Laws. † *Crimes are establish'd by Publick Edicts*, as we shall have Occasion to observe more at large in another Place. When a State is full and overgrown, like a replete Body, whose Humours are either too noxious, or too many to be endured ; the Method of discharging this Oppression, is, to send off its Superfluities of Men, or those among

Book III.
Chap. 2.

* Summum Jus summa Injuria.

† Ex Senatus consultis & plebiscitis scelera exercentur.

them,

them, who are of the hottest and warlike Dispositions, to be knock'd on the Head abroad. Thus a Vein is breath'd ; but the Ease it gives, is at the infinite Expence and Trouble of some other Country. And this we know hath been the Practice of *Franks* and *Lombards*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*, *Turks* and *Tartars*. So again, a Foreign War is often begun and maintain'd abroad, on purpose to keep busy Spirits employ'd, and to prevent Insurrections and Civil Dissentions at Home. *Lycurgus*, as a Lesson of Temperance, used to make Slaves drunk ; that Men of Quality, from Their Extravagances, might learn to detest this Vice. The *Romans*, to harden their People, and make Dangers and Death familiar and contemptible, instituted those Inhumane Sights of their Gladiators, and entertain'd them with Blood and Slaughter every Day. This at first, indeed, was confin'd to condemn'd Malefactors only ; then it came to innocent Slaves ; and at last Free-Men, and People of Condition, practis'd, and valu'd themselves upon it. The Stews in some great Cities, are of the same kind ; and so are the Usury, the Divorces of the Law of *Moses*, and among other People and Persuasions ; Whose only Recommendation is this, That they are allowed for a present Necessity, and to put a Stop to greater Mischiefs.

So likewise in *Justice*, which cannot subsist nor be put in Practice, without some Mixture of *In-III. Justice.* 8. justice. Nor is this the Case of *Commutative Justice* only, This were no strange Matter ; for here it is in some sort necessary ; Men could not live by their Trades, nor maintain Commerce with one another, without some reciprocal Injuries and Offences ; every Man must sell a Thing for more than it is strictly worth ; and therefore some Laws have allow'd Men to cheat, provided it be not above half

half the Price of the Goods : But *Distributive Justice*, which consists in dealing Rewards and Punishments, does the like ; so she her self confesses,
** Extreme Right is extreme Wrong. And All eminent exemplary Cases have some Allay of Injustice in them ; wherein, however, the Hardships which Private Men suffer, are well paid with the Advantages that accrue to the Publick from them.* Plato allows, in several Places, that Publick Ministers should draw Criminals to a full Discovery, by false Hopes and Promises of Pardon and Favour, which they never intend to make good. Which is to make a way to Justice thro' Impudence, and Cozenage, and Falshood. And what shall we say of that cursed Invention of Racks, which are a Trial of Patience indeed, but none at all of Truth ? For you shall never be able to get the Truth out of Them that can, nor out of Them that cannot, endure them. Why shou'd we think Extremity of Pain can more dispose a Man to tell what is, than to tell what is not ? If an Innocent Man be suppos'd endu'd with Patience enough to bear the Torture, why shou'd the Concern for saving his Life inspire a guilty Person with the same degree of Resolution ? I know it is commonly reply'd in Excuse of this Barbarity, That the Pain astonishes and enfeebles the Guilty, and extorts a Confession of his Treachery from him ; whereas it hath the quite contrary Effects of confirming and fortifying the Innocent. But the contrary of this happens so often, that to speak the Truth, This is an ensnaring and a pitiful Method ; a poor and base way of Dealing, full of Doubt and Uncertainty. For what would not a

** Summum Jus summa Injuria. Et Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos Utilitate publica rependitur.*

Man say or do to get quit of such Misery ? * *Pain extorts Lies from the most Innocent* ; so that a Judge, which examines upon the Rack, to prevent the Death of Innocent Persons, first racks the Innocent, and then murders him. Many a thousand People have loaded themselves with false Accusations. But were it not so, what intolerable Injustice and Cruelty is it to torture and break a Man to pieces, for a Fault which as yet there is no Proof of ? To avoid killing him without Cause, they do ten times worse than kill him. If he be innocent, and bear it out, What Justice can there be in putting him to any Pain at all ? You'll say, By bearing the Rack he is absolv'd ; I thank you very kindly. But This, however, tho' an Evil, is the least Humane Infirmity could contrive ; and yet this is not practis'd every where neither. I confess, to Me, the Custom of determining Controversies, and clearing Men's Innocence by Combat, seems to have less of Injustice and Barbarity in it. And yet This, tho' formerly much in request, is long since very justly condemn'd and exploded. For Christianity allows no such bloody Methods, nor warrants any Dependence upon them, for a Discovery of the Truth.

But if *Man* be so weak (as we have seen) in regard of Virtue, and in his *Practical* Capacity ; he is much more so in his *Intellectual*, and in relation to *Truth*. 'Tis prodigious, that Man should be so form'd by Nature, as to desire Truth eagerly, and grudge no Pains to attain it ; and yet so at the same time, as not to bear it when it offers it self to his View. The Flashes of it blind him, the Thunder of it stuns him ; it is too bright, and too loud to be born. This is not Truth's Fault however, which is exceeding beautiful, exceeding love-

9.

V. *Truth*.

* Etenim Innocentes mentiri cogit Dolor.

ly, exceeding good and beneficial to Mankind; and what was said of *Virtue* and *Wisdom*, is at least as properly applicable to *Truth*; * *That could we behold all its Charms, the whole World would be infinitely in love with it.* But the Defect is on Man's side; his Faculties cannot bear so strong a Light; its Beams dazzle, nay, hurt his Senses. In Affairs merely Humane, he that sets it before us is esteem'd our Enemy. Truth and plain-dealing are disobliging Things. And what Perverseness is this? that what we love and seek so passionately, we should be so loth, so angry to find? Truth is not only amiable, but knowable too, yet not perfectly so by Us; for at present it seems Man is only strong in Desire, but weak in his Enjoyment of it; and not able to receive what he desires. The Two chief Means made use of to bring him to the Knowledge of the Truth, are *Reason* and *Experience*. But both these are insufficient, and so very weak, (tho' of the two, *Experience* seems the more so) that no certain Conclusions can be drawn from them. *Reason* hath so many Tricks and Turnings, is so flexible in its Arguments, and so disguis'd in its Forms, that any thing may be made plausible from it; (as will be observ'd in another Place) *Experience* is no less fallible, because Events are constantly unlike one another. Nothing in Nature is so universal as Disparity; nothing so rare, so difficult, so impossible indeed, as Likeness: And nothing argues greater Weakness, and want of Judgment, than the not being able to discern and distinguish the Difference. This, however, is to be understood of such a Likeness and such a Diversity as is perfect, and holds in every Circumstance: For indeed both Similitude and Dissimilitude are every where in some respect and degree. No Two Things are in

* Quæ si oculis cerneretur, mirabiles sui amores excitaret. *Cic. of L. I.*

every regard like ; none in all respects unlike one another. So exceedingly ingenious hath Nature approv'd her self in the Mixture and Composition of the World.

But, after all, What can make more full Discoveries of Humane *Infirmity*, than *Religion* it self hath done ? Its main Intention and End is to lower Man in his own Esteem ; to shew, and make him duly sensible, how *wicked*, how *weak*, how *mere a Nothing* he is ; and, in this humble Sense, to drive him to God for Succour and Support, who is, indeed, his *Happiness*, his *Refuge* and *Strength* ; nay, his *All*. The first Method taken to inculcate these mean Notions of our Selves, is by instructing, reminding, upbraiding us ; setting before us the reproachful Titles of *Dust and Ashes*, *Earth*, *Flesh and Blood*, *Grass*, and the like.

After that, it insinuates this Truth after a most noble, and excellent, and stupendous manner ; introducing God, humbling, debasing himself, and becoming weak for the sake of Man ; speaking, expostulating, entreating, promising, swearing, growing angry, threatening ; and, in a Word, entering into Treaty and Terms, and managing him by all the endearing Arts of Persuasion, in the same tender, kind, condescending Methods, with which a fond Father wins and gains upon his Children, by stooping to their little Follies, and imitating their Infant-Imperfections. So very great it seems, so insuperable was the Weakness of Humane Nature, that no Access could be attain'd, no Correspondence held with the Divinity, till God himself was pleas'd to make the first Approaches ; and by descending to our Capacities, and our Level, to draw us nearer to himself. While He continu'd in his Native Majesty, the Distance was too vast ; and therefore the only way to bring Us up to Heaven, was for God to come down upon Earth.

A Third Instance is in the *Ordinary Exercise of Religion*; for what more lively Emblems, more expressive Symbols, more unanswerable Proofs of our Impotence and Infirmary, than the *Principal* and most *Solemn Acts of Worship* have ever been?

What shall we say to *Sacrifices*, which in Former Ages seem to have been in use all the World over? I mention not the horrible unnatural Cruel- and, into which, thro' the Corruption of Mankind, ties the wicked Artifice of the Devil, this Custom degenerated in Idolatrous Countries; those barbarous Oblations, or rather Murders and Massacres of Men and Children, of the best and most innocent Persons among them: But, confining ourselves to that of Beasts only, we shall be clearly convinc'd that These were so many Marks and Remembrancers of Men's own Vileness and Infirmary.

For, first of all; In the very Nature of the Thing, they were so many *Testimonies* of the *Curse and Condemnation we lay under*; a sort of Publick, Authentick Acknowledgement, that the Offerer himself had justly deserv'd that Death, inflicted by Him upon the Beast, and a beseeching God to accept that *devoted Life*, in the stead of his *own forfeited Life*: For, without all Dispute, had there been no *Curse*, no *Condemnation* to which Men were liable, neither wou'd there have been any Place, or possible Occasion for *Bloody Offerings*, Expiations, or Propitiatory Sacrifices.

This is a farther Evidence, Secondly, of our Weakness, if we look at the Meanness of the Intention, upon which that Usage grew and was encourag'd; and That cou'd be no other than the Hope of Appeasing and Gratifying Almighty God, by such Bloody Oblations. I speak not now of the Reasons why God instituted Sacrifices; but of that Notion which plainly appears to have been predominant in the Minds of Men, who did not see

see into the Myſterious End of them ; which the Generality of the *Jews* themſelves never did ; and much leſs cou'd it be expected that the *Pagan* World ſhou'd penetrate into it.

It is true, indeed, Almighty God, in great Grace and Compaſſion to thoſe more early and ignorant Ages of the World, which knew no better ; did very favourably accept Good Men, when they approached him with this ſort of Devotion ; and the Apoſtle takes particular Notice of his having *Reſpect to Abel and his Offering* ; as the Hiſtory of the *Heb. xi.* Old Teſtament does, of his teſtifying that Acceptance by viſible Signs, in the Caſe of *Noah, Abraham*, and Others. There being this Motive to his Mercy, that what was done of that kind proceeded from an Intention to ſerve and honour him ; and that the Underſtandings of Men were groſs and heavy ; they were in their Minority, and under a *Schoolmaſter*, (as *St. Paul* expreſſes it of the *Jewiſh* People) but at the ſame time honeſt and well-meaning : And it is not improbable, that this Opinion, ſo univerſal at That time, might repreſent Sacrifices to them, as a Dictate of the Law of Nature, and the only proper Method of Divine Worſhip.

There was, it is confeſſed, another Conſideration, which rendred *Sacrifices* very valuable and well-pleaſing to God ; whereby they were made uſe of, as *Figures* and Representations of that One truly meritorious *Sacrifice*, to be offer'd upon the Altar of the Croſs afterwards. But this is a Myſtery peculiar to the *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian* Religion. And as it is a Common, ſo is it an Excellent and Adorable Inſtance of the Divine Wiſdom, to convert what is of Human Inſtitution, Natural Uſage, or of a Corporeal Nature, to High and Holy Purpoſes, and make ſuch things as the Ceremonial Law conſiſted of, turn to a Spiritual Account.

But

Pfal. li.

Pfal. xl.

Pfal. i.

John iv.
23, 24.

But still This does not by any means infer, that God took Pleasure in these things, as of any real Intrinsick Worth and Good in themselves; For even before Grace and Truth set this Matter in its clearest Light by the Gospel, the Prophets were not sparing to declare the Contrary; and Those among the *Jews* of more enlightened Understandings, saw this perfectly well, and acknowledged it, even while the Practice of offering them continu'd. Thus *David*; *Thou desirest no Sacrifice, else would I give it thee, but thou delightest not in Burnt-Offerings. Burnt-Offering and Sacrifice for Sin hast thou not requir'd.* And again, speaking in the Person of God himself, *I will take no Bullock out of thy House, nor He-Goat out of thy Folds.* They call'd upon Men for Oblations of another kind, more Noble and Spiritual; more becoming Them to bring, and more worthy and fit for a Holy Deity to receive. *The Sacrifice of God is a Contrite Spirit, and the Offering of a pure Heart: Mine Ears hast thou opened, that I should do thy Will; yea thy Law is within my Heart. Offer unto God the Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving; I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice.* And many other Passages to the same Purpose. And at last, to clear this Matter, and put it beyond a Doubt, the Son of God himself, who was *Truth*, and the Teacher of it, and who condescended to come into the World, that he might disabuse Mankind, and rescue them from their Ignorance and Errors, hath utterly abolish'd this way of serving God: which he wou'd never have done, had there been any *Essential Goodness* in it, which cou'd have recommended it for its own sake to God his Father. But when He was come to be the End of the Law, and the Universal Propitiation, the Use of Sacrifices was at an End too; and then it is, *They that worship God must worship him in Spirit and in Truth; for the Father*

ther seeketh such to worship him. And without Question, next to the extirpating Idolatry, This of abolishing Sacrifices, is One of the most Glorious, Publick Effects; One of the best Reformati^ons, which Christianity hath wrought in the World. And hence it was, that *Julian*, the Emperor, its most professed, most inveterate Enemy, in Despight to it, offered more *Sacrifices*, than perhaps any other Man ever did; and endeavoured to introduce This Way of Worship, and Idolatry again, as being both directly in Contradiction to the Christian Religion. But of This we have spoken sufficiently; and therefore let us now take a short View of some of the other considerable Branches of Religion.

The *Blessed Sacraments*, when Administred to us in Elements so common, and of such mean esteem, as *Bread* and *Wine*, and *Water*; and not only so, but in the very Act of Administration, bearing Resemblance to the most Vulgar and Despicable Actions of Life, as *Wishing*, *Eating* and *Drinking*, are plain *Memento's* of our continual Weaknesses, and Wants, our Miseries and Pollutions. And as the marvellous Efficacy magnifies the Almighty Power and Goodness of God, so the Need we have of them, should humble us, with mortifying Reflections upon our own feeble Condition.

Thus again, *Repentance* is prescribed, as the necessary, the only Remedy for our Spiritual Diseases; and 'tis plain, This, considered in it self, is an Act full of Shame and Reproach; it upbraids us with our Faults and Follies; afflicts our Souls with Grief and sad Remorse; and shews us to our Selves in the worst, and most deformed Figures, that can be: But, however Evil and Uncomely this may seem in it self, yet it is Necessary for reconciling us to God, and That is enough to reconcile Us to it. Another Instance may be taken

Matt. V.
37.

1 Cor. I.

taken from *Oaths*, which are, indeed, Religious Acts, when lawfully practised, by Reason of the Name of God, solemnly invoked in them: But yet, it is evident, that the common Use and Administration of these, is a scurvy Symptom, a most shameful Argument, how little Mankind are to be trusted; What Monsters of Falshood, and Treachery, of Error and Ignorance, we are! How vilely suspicious and distrustful the Person requiring them is, and how liable to Jealousie, the Person from whom they are demanded; and what a mean Opinion those Law-givers, who ordered them, had, of Mens *Honesty* and *Truth*; when one's bare Word will not give Satisfaction, and (as our Saviour says) *whatsoever is more than this, cometh of Evil*. Thus you see, not only how Weak and Sickly our Condition is; but likewise what sort of Remedies, *Religion* hath found it Necessary to apply for our Cure. Since it may be said, in some Sense, with Regard to these Matters, *That God hath chosen the weak things of this World*. He did not appoint such as were Noblest and most Excellent in their own Nature, but condescended to consider the Circumstances of the Patients, and hath accommodated his Applications to Our Capacities. So that the Goodness these Things have, is not so much inherent in their own Nature, as it is Relative, and derived from the Uses they serve, and the Ends to which they are directed. They are Good, as Medicines are, because they check Evil, and prevent that which is Worse. They kill the Cause and Occasion of themselves; for, they sprung from Sin, and their Business is to extirpate, and restrain Sin. They are Good, as publick Executions are in Common-Wealths; as Sneezing, and Vomiting, and other such violent Evacuations, in our Bodies, whereby the noxious Humours, which oppress Nature, are discharged; such as are at once the

Sign

Sign and the Remedy of a Distemper. In short, It is well for us that we have them ; but it had been abundantly better for us, if we had never had any Occasion to make use of them ; and That Occasion we never should have had, if Man had continued as God made him, and preserved his Original Wisdom and Integrity. And accordingly we may take Notice, that These are Things fitted to this frail and mortal State only ; and not any of Those more Noble Parts of Religion, which shall be the Eternal Exercise of our Souls hereafter, when we are released from this Bondage of Flesh and Corruption. When our Imperfections and our Sins cease, These cease with them ; whereas our Praises, our Love of God, and other Duties of Intrinsic Goodness, are of Eternal Use and Obligation ; so far from dying with our Sins and Bodies, that they will be the more Constant, the more Delightful Employment, of our Sinless and Exalted State ; and make a considerable Part of the Heavenly, and Divine Life.

The former Remarks have shewn Man's Imbecillity in *Goodness* and *Truth* ; what follows may perhaps surprise you more, because it undertakes to represent him no less impotent in *Evil* too. For They who do their utmost Endeavour to be Wicked, cannot be entirely so, but are always forced to leave somewhat unfinished. There is constantly some Secret Remorse, some Consideration of Honour, or Fear, that checks, and pulls them back ; slackens and enervates the Will, and keeps them from part of the Villany they intended. And this Restraint hath been the Ruine of many a One, who hath proposed to save himself, by venturing no farther. Which sort of Folly, and the Miscarriages that have been owing to it, gave Occasion to that Proverb, *That a Man must never play the Fool by halves.*

This

This *Rule* is Judicious enough, but deserves a little Illustration, because, as it hath a *Good*, so is it likewise capable of a very *Bad* Sense. To understand it, as if a Man ought to abandon all Conscience, and might in any Circumstances do Well and Wisely to be Wicked without Reserve, is a very perverse Interpretation, and would render it a most pernicious Maxim. In this Respect, that contrary Proverb is most true, that *The shortest Follies are the Best*. But it is True too, that in some Cases Mildness and Moderation are of Dangerous Consequence; as particularly, when we have a desperate and formidable Enemy to deal with, and (as we commonly say) *Hold a Wolf by the Ears*. A Man then hath no safe Middle-Way left; no Course to take, but either the winning him over entirely by Courtesie, or absolutely to subdue, and put him out of a Capacity, to do us farther Mischief. This was the constant Method of the *Romans*, and a very prudent One no doubt it is. Thus *Camillus* remonstrated to the Senate in the Case of the *Latines*, after several Revolts, suing for Terms of Reconciliation; That they must either be admitted into Friendship, or not suffered to be a People any longer; and * That there was no other Way left to secure a lasting Peace, but either *Extremity of Rigour*, or a *Generous Pardon*. In such an Exigence of Affairs, to do Things by Halves, is to ruine All; as the *Samnites* found by woful Experience, who for want of following the Advice of a † Wise Old Senator, who when they had hemm'd in the *Romans*, and had them at their Mercy, gave his

Heren-
nius.

* Dii immortales ita vos potentes hujus consilii fecerunt, ut sit Latium deinde, aut non sit, in vestra manu posuerint. Itaque pacem vobis, quod ad Latinos Attinet, parare in perpetuum, vel saviendo, vel ignoscendo potestis. *T. Lib. Lib. VIII. Cap. 13.*

† Vide *Tit. Liv. Lib. IX. Cap. 3.*

Opinion, either for obliging them by Honourable Treatment, or for cutting them all off; paid very dear. That of *Courtesie*, is the Nobler Conquest, and ought to be a Man's First Choice; The Second is only for Cases of Extremity, and such Enemies as Kindness will do no Good upon. Now, from all these Instances, the Infirmary of Humane Nature appears very evidently, both with Regard to *Good* and *Evil*. A Man can neither perform, nor avoid either entirely, and without reserve; and what he does, or so much as he declines of it, is neither the One nor the Other, absolutely and without mixture. There is some Allay, some Abatement in both Extremes, and thus Man hath it not in his Power to be *exquisitely Good* or *exquisitely Wicked*, but finds himself checked and confined, on either Hand.

Let us proceed to observe some other Effects, and plain Indications of Humane Infirmary. It is a Littleness of Soul, which makes Men, that they neither dare, nor can *reprove* others, when they have done amiss, nor can bear being reprov'd Themselves, when they deserve it. And this farther Remark is likewise True, That Men, as they have, or want Courage, for One of These, so do they constantly, for the Other of them too. Now, This is a very Foolish Niceness, to deprive our Selves, or our Friend, of so Beneficial and Necessary a Kindness, merely for a slight Scratch, which at the most does but pinch our Ears, and make them tingle a little. And near of Kin to This, is that other Folly, of not daring to deny what we are sensible is not fit for us to grant, and not being able to receive a Repulse, with any manner of Temper.

I 2.

*In Reproofs
and Denials.*

When Men are *falsely suspected*, and *wrongfully accused*, they are liable to a Two-fold Nicety, and each of These is chargeable with Weakness. (In such

I 3.

False Suspicions, and Accusations.

such Accusations, I mean, as common Report lays, and not Those which fall upon them in the Methods of Law and Justice) One of these Extremes, is the being too easily moved, and over-industrious to excuse, or to justify Themselves, and this sometimes most Impertinently, and Officiously.

* ——— *False Reports disgrace*

And trouble, Whom? The Vicious and the Base. Creech.

A Man cannot wrong his Innocence more, than thus, to stake his Conscience upon every slight Provocation, and refer his Honesty to the Arbitration of all Companies he comes into. † *When Things are plain of themselves, a set Argument does but perplex and confound them.* Socrates, upon his Tryal, would not submit to be vindicated, either by Himself or by any Other; and rather chose to die Silently, than accept the Assistance of that Eminent Pleader *Lyfias*, in his Defence.

But the other Weakness is just opposite to This; when a Man of Courage gives himself no Trouble, nor takes the least Pains about his own Justification; tho' the Charge upon him have gain'd Ground, and prepossest many; when he despises the Accusation, and the Persons that lay it, as not worth his Answer or Notice; and thinks it would be a Disparagement and a Reflection to engage with them. This indeed hath been the Practice of some great and generous Spirits; of *Scipio* especially, who several times weathered his Point thus, with marvellous Constancy and Firmness of Soul. But a great many Persons disapprove this Method, and take offence at it; for they think it

* ——— *Mendax infamia terret*

Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem? Hor. Ep. XVI. Lib. I.

† *Perfpicuitas argumentatione elevatur.*

proceeds

proceeds from Haughtiness and Disdain, too great a Value of Themselves, and want of due Regard for other People. That the depending too much upon one's own Innocence, and not submitting to remove Jealousies, is ill Treatment: Or else, this obstinate Silence and Contempt, they interpret Consciousness of Guilt, Distrust of Justice, and Want of Ability to justify one's self effectually. Miserable Condition of Mankind in the mean while! that when they are suspected and accused, have no possible way of giving entire Satisfaction; but whether they speak, or whether they sit still and hold their Peace; whether they do, or do not take care to defend their Names from Reproach, are sure to incur the Imputation of Weakness and Cowardice. We think it a Mark of Courage, and advise Men not to be solicitous in making Excuses; and when they take our Advice, we are such Fools to resent it, and complain that they do not think Us worth excusing themselves to.

Another Evidence of *Weakness* is the enslaving our selves to any particular Manner, and affecting to be distinguished by some uncommon way of Living. This is a vile Effeminacy, a Niceness most unbecoming a Man of Honour; it renders us ridiculous and disagreeable in Conversation; and is highly injurious to our Selves; by softening our Minds, and making us tender and delicate, and unfit to struggle with any Accident, which may constrain us to change our Course of Life. Besides, it is a Reproach, not to dare to do, or endure, what the rest of the Company do. Such People are fit for no Place but an Alcove, or a Dressing-Room. The best Fashion, when all is done, is to be negligent, and complying, and hardy, if need be; to dare, and be able to do any thing; but to use this Power in such Things only,

14.

*Niceness
and Affe-
ctation.*

only, as are innocent and good. A Man does well to know and observe Rules ; but not to enslave himself to them.

15.
Consulting
of Books.

Another vulgar Folly there is, and a very general one, which comes under this Head of *Weakness*. 'Tis the running after Foreign Examples in Authors ; being fond of Quotations, allowing no Testimony to have Weight or Credit, except it be in Print ; nor any Thing to be true, but what is *Old*, and in *Books*. According to this Rule, the Prefs may give Reputation to the greatest Follies ; whereas, in truth, every Day presents us with fresh Instances of Things in no degree inferior to those more celebrated ones of Antiquity. And if we had but the Wit and the Judgment to make good Reflections upon these ; to cull and collect carefully such as are for our Purpose ; to examine them curiously, and discover all their Beauties, the Improvement would be wonderful ; And every Age would be equal to any of the past, the Transactions whereof we so zealously study and admire ; and, to be plain, we study and admire them for no other Reason so much, as that they have Antiquity and Authors to recommend them.

16.
Extremes.

This again is an Evidence of *Weakness*, That Men are capable of nothing, except in moderate Proportions ; *Extremes* of any kind are what they cannot bear. If they are very small, and make a despicable Figure, we despise and disdain them, as not worth our Consideration : If they be exceeding great and glorious, we are afraid of them, admire, and take Offence at them. The Former of these Remarks concerns Men of great Quality, and great Judgment : The Second is more generally true of meaner Attainments and Circumstances in the World.

This

This appears very plain too, in our Hearing and Sight, when we are struck all on the sudden with some unexpected and surprizing Accident, which seizes our Spirits before we know where we are. The Amazements of this kind are sometimes so great, as to deprive us of our Speech, of our Senses ; so *Virgil* describes the thing ;

17.
Sudden Accidents.

** Her curdled Blood runs backward at the Sight,
And pale numb'd Limbs a sudden Trembling shook ;
She stiffens into Statue with the Fright,
Swoons, and at last long Silence hardly broke.*

nay, sometimes Life it self hath gone too. And this, whether the Event were prosperous, as that *Roman Lady*, who dy'd for Joy to see her Son safe return'd out of a beaten Army ; and the Examples of *Sophocles*, and *Dionysius* the Tyrant, testify ; or whether it be unhappy, as *Diodorus* dy'd upon the Spot, for Shame that he was baffled in a Dispute.

One Instance more I will add, which discovers it self two ways, in direct Opposition to one another. Some Persons are vanquish'd into Mercy by Tears, and Submissions, and earnest Entreaties ; and are offended at Firmness and Courage, as if this were Sullenness, and Obstinacy, and Pride. Others Acknowledgements, and Prayers, and Complaints make no manner of Impression upon ; but Constancy and Resolution wins them. The Former of these proceeds, no doubt, from *Weakness* ; and accordingly, we find it more incident and common to mean, and effeminate, and vulgar Souls. But the Second it is not so easy to give an account of ; and yet this Temper is incident to

** Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit.*

Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur. Virg. Æn. III.

Men of all Conditions. One would think it an Argument of a brave and generous Spirit, to be wrought upon by Virtue, and a generous Manly Behaviour ; and so, no doubt, it is, if This be done out of a due Veneration for Virtue, as *Scanderbeg* receiv'd a Soldier into Favour, for the gallant and obstinate Defence he made against him ; and as *Pompey*, the whole City of the *Mammertines*, out of the regard he had to *Zeno*, who was one of their Body : And as the Emperor *Conrade* forgave the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the rest of them that were besieged with him, for the Bravery of the Women, who convey'd them away upon their Heads. But if this Yielding proceed from the Surprize and Confusion, occasion'd by the over-hearing Power of some Superior Virtue, (as the People of *Thebes*, who were quite dispirited, when they heard *Epaminondas*, in his Defence, reckon up his good Services, and noble Exploits, and reproach their base Ingratitude with a becoming Indignation ; and *Alexander*, when he despised the noble Resolution of *Betis*, who was taken with the City of *Gaza*, of which he was Commander) then there is another Account to be given of it. The Former of these was Weakness ; the Second, neither the Effect of Courage nor Weakness, but of Anger and Rage ; which in *Alexander* was never subject to any Check, nor ever knew any Moderation.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Author had said in the Preface to his Book, that his Design was to write after the manner of the Academick Philosophers ; who made it their Business, to represent each side of the Question in its utmost Beauty and Strength, without delivering any decisive Opinion in the Case, or being bound to stand by either Branch of the Controversy.

troverſy. An Attentive Reader will eaſily obſerve, That *Monſieur Charron* hath thus far maintain'd the Character he propos'd for his Pattern, as to make the moſt of the Arguments that offer'd for his preſent Purpoſe, without precluding himſelf from putting quite another Face upon the Matter, when his Subject requir'd that it ſhould be taken by another Handle. Thus you will find him varying concerning the Attaining of Knowledge by Senſe, and whether This be the only poſſible way of Information ; by comparing Chapter X. and Chapter XIII. And in the very Subject of this Chapter *Sect. 10, 11.* and Section ; how diſtant is the Reflection he makes here, from thoſe others which He and other Philoſophers propoſe to us elſewhere ; upon the Noble Excellence of Virtue, the Largeneſs of its Scope and Extent ; its Independence upon Fortune and Casualties ; and the mighty Convenience of furniſhing ſomething commendable and proper for our Exerciſe, and ſo making us happy in every poſſible Condition of Humane Life ?

This Variety then of Thought is a good Warning to avoid what our Author ſo frequently condemns ; Too eaſy a Credulity, and taking his Notions upon Truſt : For we find even thoſe Notions not always the ſame, but accommodated to his preſent Subject and Design : And That Design well attended to, and taken along with us, will be a very good Guide to our underſtanding him aright. For Inſtance ; He had laid it down in the beginning of this Treatiſe, as a Fundamental Principle, That the Ignorance of a Man's Self is the great and moſt governing Error of his Life ; of an Influence ſo univerſally pernicious, that all his Vices and Miſfortunes are owing to it. But then This was ſuch an Ignorance as diſpoſed Men to over-value and neglect themſelves, by covering, and quite overlooking the Defects and Diſadvantages of Humane Nature ;

Nature ; and so kept the Patient incurable, because insensible of his Disease. In order to remedy this Evil it is, that Monsieur *Charron* undertakes to shew Men to Themselves ; and 'tis evident his Design requires that he should shew the worst of them ; and paint only those Features and Lines strong, which may discover their Deformity, and tend to humble and to mortify them first ; and then to awaken that Care, which can never be vigorously employ'd, till they are first convinc'd of the Weakness and Danger of those Circumstances that want it.

A Philosopher now under these Circumstances, is thus far like a Law-giver, that it will be Prudence in him to suppose and provide against the worst ; and therefore, as I wou'd not extenuate the Art or Wisdom of my Author, nor do Injury to his Argument ; so neither can I be just to the Dignity of our Nature, and grateful to the Wise and Good Creator of it, unless I give my Reader these short, and (as I conceive) necessary Directions in perusing this *First Part* of the Book.

First, That what is here truly said of some, or most Men, (and was fit to be said in general Terms, because the worst Men have most need of such Treatises, and so are most concern'd in them) must not be so universally apply'd, or understood, as to be taken for a common Standard, and universal Representation of all Mankind, without Exception.

Secondly, That in those Vices and Defects, which are general, we should make a Distinction between such as are essential to Humane Nature, and inseparable from its Original Constitution ; and such as are the Effects of Custom and Corruption, of either *Adam's*, or our own Sin.

Thirdly ; That what we charge as a Defect, be really so, and owing to the Cause we ascribe it to.

to. These are necessary Cautions for the sake of doing common Justice, as well as preventing Mistakes in our Selves. It were unreasonable to take our Measures of all Mankind in respect of their Bodies, from the Sick or Lame ; and from the Fools or the Sots, every whit as extravagant for their Souls. It were a charging God foolishly, to ascribe those Impotences and Evils to Him, which have been the Consequences of our Disobedience against Him. And it is a most unthankful Asper-sion upon the Beauty and Wisdom of his Providence, to charge That upon a Defect in Nature, which is really no other than a natural Result of the different Fortunes and Conditions of Men : Which is exactly the Case here before us : For wherein is the excellent Wisdom of that Providence more clearly seen, than in that useful Variety of Circumstances, which Men are placed in ? And what can more vindicate the *Justice* and *Goodness* of God from any reasonable Exception, than this, That there are particular Virtues appropriated to every sort of Persons and Accidents ; and that no Circumstance of Life is possible, or supposable, but it may be adorned and recommended by Virtues, which are seasonable and distinguishing for that very Condition ? This Variety of Virtues then is far from a Natural Weakness ; it is not owing to Nature, but to Fortune and Providence ; and is so far from a Disparagement, that it is rather an Ornament and Advantage to the World. Indeed, if Nature have any thing to do in it, it is the Nature of Virtue it self ; for even Almighty God, who is Goodness in Perfection, yet does not execrcise both Justice and Mercy (for Instance) at once, to the same Person, and in the same Respects : And how is Man the worse for not doing Things inconsistent and incompatible, and what even Almighty God himself does not do ? The same

may be said of the Defects of Justice, taken Notice of afterwards ; at least, in some degree : Those being the unavoidable Consequences of Multitudes incorporated into Civil Societies, and so many Interests nicely interwoven with one another : All which I thought it my Duty to hint at, thereby to prevent any mean, repining, or ungrateful Thoughts, which such Reflections as These, when lavishly spoken, or unwarily received, might be apt to raise in Men's Minds, to the Disquiet of their own Hearts, and the Dishonour of the Maker and Governour, not only of the Humane, but of Universal Nature.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

III. *Inconstancy.*

MA N is a Creature wonderfully various and mutable ; and the great Difficulty of coming to any Judgment concerning Him, which should be certain, fix'd, and universal, proceeds from hence, That our Lives are not all of a Piece, but made up of disagreeing and different Parcels. Most part of our Actions do not arise from steady Thought, but are sudden Starts and Sallies, the Effects of Accident and Impulse, and look like Shreds of several Stuffs patch'd up and sewed together. First Irresolution, and then Fickleness and Change of Measures when we have resolved, are the commonest and most apparent Vices of Humane Nature. And our Actions, 'tis plain, do so strangely cross and contradict one another, that it is not easy to believe so many Contrarieties should all be deriv'd from the same Original. We change
and

and are not sensible of it : We run eagerly after every Whimsie of our own Appetites, and are born away by the Stream of Accidents and Passions ; 'Tis no more Reason, but Inclination that governs us : * *But sure it is, nothing can ever be regular and steady, which is not directed and order'd by Reason and Method.* Thus our very Minds and Tempers vary too ; the Climate, the Weather, and the Motions of Time and Seasons, make considerable Alterations and Differences in us.

† *In each Man's Breast This Weathercock, the Mind, Moves with the Sun, and shifts with every Wind.*

Our whole Life is nothing else, but one unequal, irregular, and many-figur'd Motion ; nothing strait, nothing steady ; We are perpetually moving and turning ; and the very change of our Posture is so frequent, as to be an Uneasiness and Trouble to us. || *No Man continues to wish and design the same thing two Days together. Now the Man is for Marrying ; by and by a Mistress is preferr'd before a Wife : Now he is Ambitious and Aspiring, and looks Big ; presently the meanest Servant is not more humble, more condescending than He. This Hour he squanders his Money away ; the next he turns Miser, and scrapes all he can. Sometimes he is frugal and serious ; sometimes profuse, airy, and gay. Thus we shift our Characters each Moment, and act a Thousand several Parts.*

* At nil potest esse æquabile, quod non à certâ ratione proficiscitur.

† Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Jupiter auctiferâ lustravit lampade terras.

|| Nemo non quotidie consilium mutat & votum, modo uxorem vult, modo amicam ; modo regnare vult, modo non est eo officiosior servus : nunc pecuniam spargit, nunc rapit ; modo frugi videtur & gravis, modo prodigus & vanus ; mutamus subinde personam.

The

*The Mind is with it self at strife,
And disagrees in all the Course of Life ;
For what it hated now, it streight desires,
What now it threw away, it most admires.* Creech.

So little is any of us the same ; and so much harder is it to sound and know *Man* perfectly, than any other Creature whatsoever : For he is full of Doubles and Trickings ; the closest, cunningest, and most Counterfeit part of the Creation. He hath a Thousand little Closets and false Doors, where he hides, and comes out again ; sometimes a Man, sometimes a Monster ; a Thousand Breathing-holes, at which he blows sometimes Hot, sometimes Cold, and almost blinds you with Cloud and Smoak. Every Agitation is but a fresh Folly ; and the Course of his Life One continu'd Error. He is born in the Morning, and dies at Night ; is sometimes in Chains, and sometimes at large ; sometimes a God, and sometimes an Insect : He Laughs and Cries for the same thing ; is satisfy'd and dissatisfy'd, ever wishing, and never knowing what he would be at. Sometimes transported, and ready to leap out of his Skin for Joy ; and presently again so melancholy and dejected, that nothing can content, nothing quiet him, or make him think Life tolerable.

*Quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Æstuat, & vitæ disconvenit ordine toto.* Horat. I. Ep. L. I.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Misery.

WE are now to draw the largest and most distinguishing Line of the whole Piece. *Man* hath been, already, described *Vain* and *Feeble*, *Frail* and *Inconstant*, with regard to *Goodness* and *Happiness*, and *Ease*; but he is *strong* and *lusty*, *constant* and *hardened*, and *tough* in *Misery*. He is in a manner *Misery* alive, and in *Humane Shape*; and no one Word is equally expressive of his Condition. For all *Misery* centers in him, and dwells in no other part of the World besides. To be Miserable is the Property of our Nature; Man alone is so, and every Man is so, as will appear by and by. For a true Representation of this Matter, it were convenient to run over all the Parts of his Life; to describe his Essence, his Coming into the World, his Stay in it, and his Departure out of it. This were an endless Undertaking, and I pretend not to it; nor need I indeed, because so many have handled the Subject before me. What I intend at present, is only to instance in some Particulars, not commonly taken Notice of, nor reputed Unhappineffes; at least, such as Men do not thoroughly consider, nor are sufficiently sensible of, tho' they be in reality very grievous, if we make a true Judgment of them.

Take this then for the First Proof of Man's Misery, That his First Appearances in the World are Mean and Despicable; but his Going out of it, his Death and Destruction, are esteem'd Glorious and full of Honour. By which One would be tempted

I.

*Misery
proper to
Man.*

2.

*In his Be-
ginning
and End.*

pted to think this a monstrous Creature, in the Production whereof there is so much Shame, and so much Reputation in the Unmaking him again. What relates to the former of These, Modesty draws a Veil over ; but the latter is proclaimed and receiv'd with Triumph ; the Instruments are prepared with great Expence ; we wear them constantly about us, and look upon Them as Ornaments to our Persons. We are born in Chambers privately, but die before many Spectators, in Fields and Camps, in the Sight of the Sun, and with Sound of Trumpet, and are proud of Butchering one another. Nature hath provided but one Way of coming into the World, but a great many Passages out ; and, as if even thus Nature had done too little, Invention and Industry have added their Assistance, and make Men every Day more Ingenious in new Arts of Killing. Laws and Customs have not assigned any Recompence for Mens Skill in multiplying, or in preserving Mankind ; but all our Ensigns of Honour, are for the destroying it. Arms of Families, Advancements, Riches Commands, Triumphs, and Trophies are decreed to Them that are mighty to oppress, to grieve, to murder Mankind. The Two great Heroes of all Story, *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, were each of them (according to *Pliny's* Computation) the death of more than a Million of Men, and yet neither of these added One to the Number. And heretofore, Men were slaughtered in Publick Theatres, merely for Pleasure and Pastime. * *Man, a Creature Venerable and Sacred, is slain for Sport and Diversion ; Death in Man is Entertainment sufficient. Innocent Persons are brought upon the Stage, to be sacrificed for the*

* Homo res sacra per jocum & lusum occiditur ; satis spectaculi in homine mors est innocentes. In ludum veniunt ut publicæ voluptatis hostiæ, fiant. *Senec. Tertul.*

Peoples Pleasure. In some Nations it is Usual to curse the Day of their Birth, and bless That of their Death. And the wisest Man that ever lived, hath taught us, that the Latter of These is much Better of the Two. Now, no other Creature is so discontented with it self; nor are the Particulars here mention'd, True of Beasts, or any Part of the Creation besides.

The Second Evidence of his Misery, may be taken from the Retrenchment of Pleasures; those poor and low Pleasures of which he is capable (for the Head of *Weakness* may have satisfy'd us, that the Pure and Exquisite are too refin'd for him) the Care taken to abate of the Number, and to check the relish of them. If this be not done upon a Religious Account, how monstrous a Folly is it? Thus far Man is oblig'd to become his own Enemy; to rob and betray Himself; so that even his Pleasures are Burdens, and he contributes to his own Uneasiness. And this some are so superstitiously severe in, that they avoid Health, and Good Humour, and Mirth, as Evils.

* *Oh wretched Men! whose Pleasures are their Crime.*

We are exceedingly ingenious to our Disadvantage; and the Force of our Wit feeds upon nothing more, than the contriving new Arts of Uneasiness to our Selves.

Thus it is plainly in a much worse Instance than the former: For the Mind of Man does not only spoil Good, and deny its own Appetites, and check even lawful Delights; but it is eternally busie in framing and forging Pains and Evils. Thus Things which have in reality nothing of Evil in Them,

* O miseri, quorum gaudia crimen habent. *Gallus, Eleg. 1.*

and

and such as Beasts stand in no Fear at all of, our Minds draw in the blackest Colours, and most hideous Shapes; and then tremble, and start, and run away, from Monsters of their own making. Thus we esteem it a mighty Unhappiness, not to be Honourable, and Rich, and Great; and look upon Cuckoldom, want of Children, and Death, as insupportable Evils. Whereas, to speak freely, I know no Temporal Affliction which is really Evil, and felt to be so, but *Pain* only. And the Reason, why some wise Men have been known to fear those other Things, was not upon the account of the Things themselves, but of the Pain which may happen to be an inseparable Attendant upon them. For This sometimes is a Fore-runner of Death; and sometimes it follows upon Poverty and Disgrace. But if you consider these Matters, (abstracting the Pain) all the rest is mere Imagination; a Thing that hath no Being, but in our own Brains; which are eternally cutting themselves out new Work, and forming Evils that are not, to add to Those that are; thus enlarging our Misery, and finding it fresh Employment, instead of quieting and cutting it short. For the Beasts feel nothing of all this; and therefore it is plain they are *Evils*, not of *Nature's*, but of *Fancy's* making.

5.
Born to
Pain.

As for *Pain*, which seems the only real Evil, Man is perfectly fitted for That, and born to it. The *Mexicans* welcome their Children into the World, with this Salutation; *Child, thou art come into this World to suffer; take it patiently, and hold thy Peace.* And Three Arguments there are, which may convince us, that Pain is in a manner Natural to Man; and a State of Indolence or Pleasure, foreign to his Constitution. The First is, that every Part about a Man is susceptible of Pain, and but very few capable of Pleasure. The Second, That

That Those which are capable of Pleasure, can receive but one or two sorts of it; but all the Parts receive great variety of Pains, and Those of the most different kinds too; Extremity of Heat and Cold, Pricking, Bursting, Bruising, Scratching, Flaying, Beating, Scalding, Fainting, Swooning, Extension, Oppression, Relaxation of the Parts; and others without Number, that want a Name, besides Those of the Soul; so that a Man is much more able to suffer, than to express his Sufferings. To this must be added, that a Man cannot continue long in Pleasures: All his Delights are a short Blaze; should they last long, they would destroy Themselves, and become painful and insupportable. But his Pains are of a great length, and not confin'd to certain Seasons, as Pleasures are. Thus Pain hath a more absolute Dominion over us; its Territories are larger; its Reign more lasting, more general, more uncontroll'd, and, in a Word, more Natural, than that of Pleasure is, or can possibly be.

To these Three Remarks may be added as many more; as First, Pain and Sorrow is much more common, and comes oftner upon us; Pleasure is hard to be met with, and seldom returns. Then, Pain comes of its own accord, without any seeking or Endeavour of ours to procure it; but Pleasure never approaches voluntarily; we are fain to court it, to buy it dear, and oftentimes pay more for it than it is worth. Pleasure is never Entire, but hath always some Abatement, some Alloy of Uneasiness, somewhat attending it that we cannot like, and had much rather were otherwise; but Pain and Dissatisfaction are often without any manner of Mixture or Mitigation. And after all this, the worst part of the Bargain, and that which most clearly proves our Misery, is, That Extremity of Pleasure does not affect us so sensibly

bly as a very small Degree of Pain or Sicknefs.
** Humane Nature is more accommodated to the Sense of Evil, than of Good.* Perfect Health and Ease makes no manner of Impreffion ; but the leaft Indifpofition makes a very great one. *† The Prick of a Pin, tho' the Skin be fcarce razed, puts the whole Body into Diforder ; and yet That whole Body, when in a ftate of perfect Ease, hath no particular Sensation, or Motion of Joy resulting from it.*

6.
 Remem-
 brance and
 Anticipa-
 tion of
 Evils.

As if all this were ftill too little, and neither Real and Subftantial Evils, nor False, and of our own forming, could complete our Mifery ; we ftretch, and lengthen both the One and the Other of thefe ; give them new Life, and fustain them longer than they could poffibly fubfift without our cherifhing ; as if we were perfectly in love with Uneafinefs. This we do feveral ways ; as Firft, by calling to remembrance that which is paffed, and foreftalling that which is to come. This Method can never fail, becaufe the Two great Privileges our Nature boasts of, are *Memory* and *Forefight* ; and thefe Advantages and Prerogatives of our Species, we fo pervert, as to render them the Instruments of our Unhappinefs. || *The Past and the Future both put us upon the Rack ; many of our Advantages do us an Injury ; Memory calls back our Terrors ; and Forethought antedates them : No Man bears the prefent Burden, and no more.* Now what can exprefs a more importunate defire of Mifery, than the not ftaying till the Calamity comes, but going out to meet, and find, to feek, and to invite it, to haften

** Segnius homines bona quàm mala sentiunt.*

*† Pungit — In cute vix fumma violatum plagula Corpus,
 Quando valere nihil quenquam movet —*

|| *Futuro torquemur & præterito, multa bona noſtra nobis nocent ; timoris tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat ; nemo præſentibus tantum miſer eſt.*

its

its Approaches towards us? This is like the *Men that kill themselves for fear of Dying*, which is, out of Curiosity, or Weakness, to pull down upon us what we most apprehend. And thus we do not only wait for our greatest Evils, and real Inconveniences, with a foolish Impatience, but oftentimes terrify and torment our selves with the Expectation of those, which perhaps would never reach us at all. These Persons take great Pains to be miserable before their Time; nay, to be doubly so, by the Sense of the Calamity, when upon them, and by long Premeditation at a Distance; which is a thousand times worse than the Calamity it self. * *The Fatigue of Sense is much less in enduring, than the Torture of the Mind in expecting.* The real Existence of Misery is, it seems, too short and transitory, and therefore the Mind must give it Birth, and lengthen out its Life, and entertain it self with it before-hand. † *He that afflicts himself before he needs, is sure to be afflicted more than he needs.* Beasts are secure from such Wretchedness and Folly, and are in this respect much beholding to Nature, for not having given them the tormenting Faculties of Wit, and Memory, and Foresight, like ours. *Cæsar* used to say, that *the best Death was that which was least thought on.* And there is no doubt, but the Pomp and Expectation of Death is frequently more painful and terrible than the Thing it self. It is not here any Part of my Design, to discourage or reflect upon that Premeditation which Philosophy and Religion require of us: For This is the very Tempering that hardens the Soul, and makes it Proof against all Accidents and Assaults; and a Place shall be reserved for recommending this particularly. But what I would ex-

Book II
Ch. 7. 11

* Minus afficit sensus fatigatio quam cogitatio.

† Plus dolet quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet quàm necesse est.

plode, is that Apprehension of Evils to come, which is always Poor-spirited, and sometimes Groundless, and ever Fruitless; which troubles, and sullies the Soul with Black Thoughts, deforms its Beauty, disturbs its Quiet, and embitters all its Joy. And sure it is much better to be absolutely surpriz'd, than thus forewarn'd: Rather than think thus of Future Evils, never think at all. But, setting aside this Antedating of Evil; the very Anxiety, and Care, and perpetual Hankering after Future Contingences of any kind, the Sollicitude of our Hopes, the Eagerness of our Desires, the Misgivings of our Fears, are a very great Misery. For besides, that What is *future*, is equally out of our Power with What is *past*, (and so these Thoughts are vain) we are certain to receive Detriment by that which can do us no Service. (*For*
** the State of a Mind always in Pain for what will happen hereafter, is certainly most deplorable*) It robs us of all sedate Thoughts; destroys all that comfortable Sense, and quiet Enjoyment, we might have of present Advantages; and makes it impossible for Men to sit down easy and satisfy'd under any Dispensations of the kindest and most bountiful Providence to them.

7.
Uneasy En-
quiries.

Nay, Man stops not here; but, as if he were concern'd to furnish new Matter for that Misery, which comes up but too thick of its own accord; he cultivates and encreases it, by a restless Curiosity, and studious Pursuit of fresh Objects, which may create or cherish his Unhappiness. With what Eagerness and Pleasure does he thrust himself into Business; and how inquisitive and impatient is he to discover That, which, if it would present it self to his View without any Trouble of his,

* Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius.

he ought rather to turn away, and hide his Eyes from ? And this busy Temper is owing either to a Natural Restlessness, disposing us to be miserable ; or from a vain Affectation to be Judicious, and Wise, and always employ'd ; that is, in plain *English*, to make our selves Fools and Wretches : As we needs must be, when our Industry to perplex our selves is so great, that when we have no Business of our own to disquiet us, we go abroad in quest of Troubles, and officiously concern our selves with the Affairs of other People. In a Word, Man is under exceeding great and perpetual Agitation of Mind, not only from such Thoughts and Cares as are unnecessary, and turn to no account ; but such as are thorny, troublesome, and injurious to him : The *Present* gives him Pain ; the *Past*, Regret ; the *Future*, Perplexity ; and, by his Behaviour under all this, one would think him afraid of nothing so much, as the not being sufficiently miserable, after all his Endeavours to render himself so. And may we not justly use this Exclamation ; *O wretched Mortals ! how many Evils do you continually endure, which might with great Ease have been avoided ! how many more indeed are those of your own, and how few, in Comparison, those of God's and Nature's making !* But thus, alas, it is ! Man delights himself in Misery, and is obstinate in seeking and cleaving to it. He chews the Cud upon each Misfortune, and takes great Pains that none should be forgotten, but renews their Images daily and hourly. Nothing is so frequent, so familiar, as Complaints ; and where Occasions are but light and trivial, he cherishes and heighthens the Resentment, calls himself the most unhappy Man in the World, and takes it ill not to be thought so ;
* *Such Pleasure does he find in indulging his Grief.* And

* Est quædam dolendi voluptas.

sure the being so very ambitious to enhance our Misery, and to get the Character of those who excel all others in it, is a much greater Misery, than never feeling or knowing our Unhappiness at all. * *And yet this is that querulous Creature Man, that sits with great Eagerness brooding upon his own Miseries.*

8.
*In the Re-
medies of
Misery.*

Thus you see him abundantly miserable, by Nature and by Choice ; in Reality and in Imagination ; by Constraint, and with Industry and Pleasure. He hath too much of it in despite of all Endeavours to the contrary ; and yet his great Fear is, that he should not have Misery enough. He is always in Chase of some fresh Unhappiness, and in Pain till he hath overtaken it. But now we will take him in another Prospect, affected with a Sense, and weary of some particular Evil ; for even This does not happen always ; and many Miseries are endur'd without any uneasy Resentments at all) And when his Mind is thus far awaken'd, let us next observe, how he endeavours to disengage himself, and what Remedies are to be apply'd in order to a Cure. And These are such, in truth, as rather fret and anger the Sore, than heal it ; for by quitting one Evil, he only exchanges it for another, and oftentimes for a worse. But still the very Change is pleasing, or at least, it soothes and allays the Pain a little. He fancies one Evil may be cured by another ; and this Imagination is owing to a vulgar Error, that seems to have bewitch'd Mankind ; which makes them always suspect Things that are easy and cheap ; and esteem nothing truly valuable and advantageous, but what costs us dear, and is attended with much Labour and Difficulty. And This again rises higher, (for it is not more strange

* Homo animal querulum, cupidè suis incumbens miseriis.
than

than true, and nothing can more fully prove, that Man is exceeding miserable) That, let the Evils we lie under, be what they will, some other Evil is necessary for expelling and subduing them; and whether the Body or the Mind be the Part affected, the Case in this respect is much the same. For the Diseases both of the one and the other, are never to be healed and taken off, but by Torture and Pain, and great Trouble: Those of the *Mind* by Penance, Watchings, and Fastings; hard Usage, and coarse Fare; Confinements and Mortifications; which, notwithstanding the Voluntariness and Devotion of them, must of necessity be afflicting and pungent; because the whole Effect of them wou'd be lost, if we could suppose them in any degree subservient to Ease and Pleasure. Those of the *Body* require nauseous Medicines, Incisions, Causticks, and severe Dietings; as They whose Unhappiness it is to be oblig'd to a Course of Physick, know by woful Experience. They are got between the Mill-stones (as they say) ground and bruised on one side by the Disease, and on the other by a Regimen as bad as the Disease. Thus Ignorance is cured by long laborious Study; Poverty by Sweat and Toil; and Care and Trouble are as natural in all the Provisions for Body and Mind both, as it is for Birds to fly.

The several Miseries hitherto insisted on, are such as the Body suffers in; or, if not peculiar to that alone, yet at least such as it bears a part in with the Mind; and the highest they go, is only to the meanest of our Faculties, *Imagination* and *Fancy*. But Those, which next fall under our Consideration, are of the most refin'd and Spiritual Nature, such as are more truly deserving of that Name; full of Error; full of Malignity; their Activity greater, their Influence more general, more pernicious, and more properly our own; and yet at the same

9.

*Miseries of
the Mind.*

*The Under-
standing.*

same time less acknowledg'd, less perceiv'd by us. And this enhances, nay, doubles Man's Misery ; that of moderate Evils he hath a quick and tender Sense, but those which are greatest, he knows not, feels not at all. Nor can he bear to be inform'd of them. No Body dares mention them to him ; none will do the ingrateful good Office of touching this sore Place ; so harden'd, so obstinate, so lost is he in his Misery. All therefore that can be allow'd us in the Case, is to handle them with all imaginable Gentleness, and just glance upon them by the by ; or rather, indeed, to point them out at a distance, and give him some little Hints to exercise his own Thoughts upon, since of his own accord he is by no means disposed to take any Notice of them. And First, In respect of the *Understanding* ; Is it not a most prodigious, and most lamentable Consideration, that *Humane Nature* should be so universally tainted with *Error* and *Blindness* ? Most Vulgar Opinions (and commonly the more general, in a more eminent manner) are erroneous and false ; not exempting even those that are receiv'd with the greatest Reverence and Applause. Nor are these so Sacred Notions false only ; but, which is worse, very many of them mischievous to *Humane Society*, and the Publick Good. And tho' some Wise Men (and they alas ! but very few) think more correctly of these Matters, than the Generality of the World, and have a truer Notion of them ; yet even These Men sometimes suffer themselves to be carry'd down with the Stream ; if not always, and in every Point, yet now and then, and upon some Occasions. A Man must be very firm and well fixed, to stem the Tide ; very hardy, and of a sound Constitution, whom an Infection so epidemical cannot fasten upon. For, indeed, Opinions that have got Footing every where, and are entertain'd with

with general Applause, such as scarce any Body dares to contradict, are like a sweeping Flood, that bears down all before it.

* *Good Heaven ! what Errors darken Humane Sight !
And wrap our Souls in gross substantial Night !*

† *Blind wretched Man ! in what dark Paths of Strife,
We walk this little Journey of our Life !* Creech.

To instance in all the Foolish Opinions, with which the Generality of Mankind are intoxicated, were much too tedious an Undertaking. But some few shall be just mention'd here, and reserv'd to their proper Places, for a more full Enlargement upon them ; and such are These that follow.

1. The forming a Judgment of Counsels and Designs, and pronouncing them Prudent, and Seasonable, and Good ; or the direct contrary ; according as they succeed well or ill. Whereas the Issues of all these Things are in no degree at our own Disposal, but depend entirely upon a higher Hand ; One, who, as his own Infinite Wisdom sees fit, prospers the most unlikely Methods, and defeats the wisest Measures, and most promising Attempts.

See
Book III.
Chap. 1.

2. The condemning, and utterly exploding all foreign and strange Things, *Manners, Opinions, Laws, Customs, Observances*, and looking upon them as barbarous and wicked, without ever examining into the Matter, or knowing of what Nature and Consequence they are : And all this, for no other rea-

See
Book II.
Chap. 8.

* *Proh superi ! quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent ?*

† *O miseras hominum mentes & pectora cæca,
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periculis.
Degitur hoc ævi quodcunque est ?* Lucret. Lib. 2.

son, but that they are new to Us, and practised only in remote Countries, and different from the Vogue and Usage of our own. As if We were the common Standard for all the World to take Measures by ; and nothing could possibly be commendable or convenient, but what hath been receiv'd, and is, in request, in that little Spot of Ground, where our particular Lot hath fallen.

See
Book II.
Chap. 10.

3. Somewhat distant from This, is the esteeming and extolling Things, because they are *New*, or *Scarce*, or *Strange*, or *Difficult* ; which are the Four powerful Charms, that attract, and get so absolute Ascendent over Vulgar Souls : And very often it happens, that the Things prized highly upon these Accounts, are mere Vanities and Trifles, and have neither intrinsick Goodness, nor Usefulness, nor any other Consideration to recommend them. For what can be more justly despicable, than That Prince, who is said to value himself extremely, upon an Art he had, of standing at a distance, and throwing Grains of Millet through the Eye of a Needle ?

4. All those Superstitious Opinions, and unaccountable Whimsies, which debase and enslave the Minds of Children and Women, and all the weak and ignorant Part of Mankind.

Ibid.

5. The esteeming Men more or less, according to their Worldly Advantages ; and proportioning not our Respects only, but our Opinions too, to their Riches, Honours, and Preferments ; as if the Value of a Horse were to be taken from his Trappings ; and the Buyer, to know his good Qualities, and adjust his Price, should look no farther than the glittering Bridle and embroider'd Saddle.

6. The rating Things not according to their real, natural, and intrinsick Worth, which oftentimes is conceal'd ; but according to the outward Face
and

and Shew ; the Pomp and Figure, the Noise they make, and the Reputation they have in the World.

7. The thinking, that a Man is sufficiently revenged of his Enemy, when he kills him ; whereas This is to put him under Shelter, and out of the Reach of all manner of Evil, and to expose one's own self to it. 'Tis to take away from him all power of Feeling, or being hurt by the Revenge we intend ; and that very Act, which designs him the greatest Mischief, sets him at perfect Ease. This is a Folly that may be reduc'd to the former Head of *Weakness*, and is a Branch of That, as well as of *Misery*.

8. The reckoning it a most insupportable Injury and Unhappiness, and that a Man becomes an Object of Contempt, for being a *Cuckold*. For how can we possibly wrong our Judgment more, than by thinking meanly of a Man, and that he is justly ridiculous and despicable, for the Fault of another ; which he is so far from having any hand in, that 'tis plain he never approved it ? The Case is much the same in our having a worse Opinion of any Man, for being a *Bastard*.

9. The disesteeming what is present, and our own, and such as we are in secure and peaceable possession of ; and being infinitely fond of the very same Things when we have them not, and merely because they belong to some Body else. As if Presence and Possession abated the real Worth of a Thing ; and the not having it were a Recommendation sufficient to raise the Price of it in our Accounts.

* *Poor Envious We, despise
Virtue when present ; when it flies,
Stand and gaze after it with longing Eyes.* Creech.

Hence came the Proverb of *No Prophet being receiv'd with Honour in his own Country.* Thus to lower the Value of any Thing, there needs no more than to be the Owner and Enjoyer of it : Thus Husbands look upon their own Wives, and Fathers upon their Children, with Indifference and Disdain. *If you would put an End to your Love, (say the Men of the Town) Marry your Mistress, and the Business is done effectually.* Thus every Other Man's Servant is better, his Horse fleetier, his House more convenient than our Own. 'Tis pretty odd, I confess, to prefer Things purely imaginary, before Those that are real and substantial ; and yet this is the Case of that unreasonable Valuation we put upon Things that are absent, and at a distance, and other Peoples ; upon Things before we have them, and after we have lost them. The Reason of so unequal a Proceeding in these two Cases last mention'd, seems to be this ; That the Value we set upon things before we have them, is not proportion'd to their real intrinsic Worth, but to the false Idea's our own Imaginations form, or the vain Boasts other People make of them ; both which are always bigger and more beautiful than the Life : But Possession and Experience discover the Truth, and then we learn to rate them after the Excellence they actually have, and the Benefit that can be made out of them. Again ; The Things we have lost are look'd upon with Melancholy, and much Regret, because then we consider them entire, and in the

* *Virtutem incolumem odimus.*

Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. Horat. Ode 24. Lib 3.
Gross,

Gross, whereas the Use and Enjoyment we had of them was not so, but by Piece-meals, and by little at a time. In which Men are commonly much more unkind to Themselves, than they need to be: For they defer their own Happiness, reserve it for a farther Day, and always promise themselves Time and Opportunities enough for enjoying it hereafter; so that even what they have, they are so stingy in the use of, that they are scarce sensible of what they possess; and it is in a manner all one as if they had it not. And This seems to be the true account, why the Passion and Concern for our Losses and our Wants, is more vehement and visible, than the Pleasures and Satisfaction taken in what we possess. And in this no doubt we must allow a great Mixture of *Weakness* as well as *Misery*. We are not sufficient for full and perfect Enjoyment, and only capable of Desiring intensely and in perfection. There is indeed a vicious Temper of the Mind, directly opposite to That I have been speaking of; which is, That Degree of Self-sufficiency and Satisfaction, that whatever We are, or have, appears to us incomparably better than all the World besides. We can be pleas'd, nay, we can be in common Charity with nothing but our Own; and whatever is so, nothing can be superior, nothing equal, nothing like or comparable to it. I dare not say this Quality argues Men any Wiser than the other; but all the World, I believe, will admit, that it makes them Easier, and contributes much more to their Happiness and Content.

10. The shewing one's self forward and zealous upon all occasions, to resent Things warmly, and engage in Disputes with Peremptoriness and Passion, as often as there is any fair and plausible Pretence given, of appearing to be a Man affectionately concern'd for Justice, or Religion; for promoting the Publick Good, or gaining the Love of the People.

“ For

“ For as these are Things which ought to be very
 “ precious, and no good Man must neglect them in
 “ their Seasons; so it requires Discretion to chuse
 “ those Seasons, and to manage and temper an honest
 “ Zeal. Every Man that is well-disposed, is
 “ not qualified for the Undertaking; and every
 “ Time and Company is not fit for him that is
 “ qualified to undertake it in.

Chap.
XXXIII.

11. The putting on excessive Melancholy, or suffering our selves to be really afflicted, and mourn to a great degree, upon the Death of a Friend, or any other Calamity that befalls him: And to imagine, that a Moderate degree of Passion upon such Occasions, argues want of Affection and sincere Friendship. This is not only *Misery*, but an exceeding *Vanity* too, and as common as it is vain.

12. The bearing a very great Regard to those Actions, which require a great deal of bustle and stir in the doing, and make a Noise in the World; and to slight and undervalue all that are done in a still, sedate, and obscure manner: As if no Effects could ever follow upon such a dull, heavy way of proceeding; but all Men were asleep, and did nothing, that do it not with Hurry and Clutter. In short; All those vain Preferences, which Men give to Art above Nature, are likewise of this kind; for One of These, works with Labour and Observation; the Other easily, quiet, and unseen. And thus whatever is swell'd, and blown up by Industry and Invention; that which cracks about our Ears, and strikes strongly upon our Senses, (and all this is Artificial) we respect and value highly; infinitely above That which is mild, and gentle, and simple, and uniform, and common; for such are the Products of Nature. The former of These awakens us into Attention; the latter advances silently, and leaves, or lays us asleep.

13. The

13. The putting unfair and perverse Interpretations upon the good Actions of Others ; and when the Thing is well in it self, attributing it to base, or trifling, or wicked Causes or Occasions. So did They, whom *Plutarch* is angry with, for pretending, that the Death of *Cato* the Younger proceeded from no other Principle, than his Fear of *Cæsar* ; And some Others yet more senselessly, charg'd it upon Ambition. This is a most infallible Symptom of a sick Judgment ; a Disease that proceeds, either from Wickedness at home, and a general Corruption of the Will and Manners, disposing Men to pervert every Thing to the worst Sense ; or else from Uneasiness and Envy against Persons that are better than Themselves ; or else from a Mis-giving Quality within, which reduces all their Belief to the Compass and Size of their own Abilities ; so measuring others by their own Standard ; believing every one as bad as they know Themselves to be ; and absolutely incapable of doing Things better, or proposing nobler Ends in their Actions, than their own usually are. Or perhaps, as probable an Account of this as any of the former, may be a Natural Weakness and Littleness of Soul, which, like tender Eyes, cannot bear to look at so strong and clear a Light, as that which Virtue sheds, when Pure, and in its native Beauties. Nor is it amiss here to take notice of a Practice exceeding common ; which is, Men's affecting to shew the *Nicety* of their *Judgment*, and the *Smartness* of their *Wit*, in finding Faults, suppressing, extenuating, disguising Circumstances, setting Things in their worst Light, and eclipsing the Glory of the bravest Actions. In all which, one would wonder they should suppose any Thing worth valuing themselves upon ; since it is manifest, all Dexterity of this kind is a much greater Demonstration of their

Ill-Nature, than it can be of their Parts ; and as it is the Vilest and most Disingenuous , so is it the Easiest and most Vulgar way of Wit, in the World.

14. Another, which seems to be a very convincing Testimony of the *Misery of Humane Minds*, (tho' somewhat more nice, and out of the way of common Observation) is, That the Soul in its calm, and sound, and composed Estate, can rise no higher than the perception of those Objects, and the performance of such Operations, as are Common, and Natural, and of a moderate Size: But in order to the raising it up to such as are Divine and Supernatural, such as admit Men into the Secrets of Heaven, it is distemper'd, and violently agitated ; either by vehement Impulses, Extasies, and Enthusiasms ; or by Trances and deep Sleeps. This I gather, not only from the *Tripods* and *Oracles* of the Heathen *Pythia*, but from the authentick Accounts given us of Revelations, and the extraordinary Manifestations God was pleased to make of Himself to Prophets, and Holy Men in Scripture : Such as *Abraham*, and *Ezekiel*, and *Daniel*, and others in the Old Testament ; and *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul* in the New. All which Instances seem to argue, that the only Natural ways of attaining to these extraordinary Communications, are by Transport and Sleep, by *Visions* and *Dreams*. So that our Mind, it seems, is never so Wise , as when it is out of its Senses ; nor ever so truly Awake, as in Sleep. It arrives best at its Journey's End, by leaving the Common Road ; and takes the noblest and most successful Flights, when its own Faculties appear most depressed ; as if it were necessary to Lose it self for the Finding somewhat better and more lofty ; and to be Miserable in order to its being Happy.

Happy. " This seems most Natural, because we *Advert.*
" are assured it was most usual ; not that there
" was an impossibility of other Methods, but that
" these were best adapted to Humane Infirmities.
" And therefore it is worth observing upon this
" Occasion, what Truth Himself mentions, as a
" Prerogative, by which *Moses* was distinguished
" from other Prophets : *In that God talked with* *Deut. xii.*
" *him Face to Face, as a Man talketh to his Friend* ; that
" is, Easily and Familiarly, without any of those
" vehement Commotions of Body, or extatick
" Raptures of Soul, which the rest of Mankind
" us'd to feel upon such Occasions. And this
" proves, both that the Other Method was so or-
" dinary as to justify our Author's Observation ;
" and yet that there was no utter Incapacity for
" this freer way, in Humane Nature, (which de-
" served this additional Remark upon it) ; for
" God, who is absolute Master of Nature, can re-
" veal himself in what manner he sees fit.

15. *Lastly*, Can any greater defect or Misery
be imagin'd incident to the Minds of Men, than
the Neglect and Disesteem of their best and most
useful Faculty ? And yet This is almost every one's
Case, while we extol *Memory* and *Imagination*, and
are fond of excelling in These, but let the *Judg-*
ment lie idle and unimprov'd ; no Care taken to
employ it, nor any account at all made of it.
Do but look abroad a little, and you will soon
be convinced of what I say. For what are all the
neat Harangues, the learned Treatises, the quaint
Discourses, the celebrated Sermons and Books, with
which the World is so mightily taken ; What, in
a Word, are all the Productions of this fruitful
Age, (the Works of some few Great Men only
excepted) but common Places and Quotations,
tack'd and fil'd up together ; a Collection of other
Men's Labours put into a new Method, with some
few

few Strokes and Illustrations, and so naturaliz'd, and made all our Own? And what can we make of this, but a work of *Memory*; the Excellency of a School-Boy, and That which requires very little Brains or Trouble, as to all that part which we pick up from Authors, and find ready cut to our Hands; And the Work of *Imagination*, for those little Graces and Garnitures, which make up the much less part, added by our Selves? This oftentimes is mere Vanity; no one Stroke of a Judicious Man, no one eminently Good Quality discernible in it; and accordingly the Authors themselves, under whose Names good Things are published, are often known to be Persons of weak Parts, and very indifferent Judgment; loose in their *Principles*, and debauch'd in their *Morals*. And how much better than all this is it, to hear a good honest Farmer, or a common Shopkeeper, talking in their own Gibberish, plain downright Truths, in a dry rough way, without Trick or Dress to adorn and set them off; and giving good useful Advice, which is the Natural Product of sound Sense, and an unsophisticated Judgment?

10.
The Will.

Thus much for our *Understanding*. The *Will* is in no degree inferiour in Misery, but hath at least as many Sources; and the Instances of it are more deplorable, than any under the former Head. These are indeed innumerable; some few of them are such as follow.

1. The being more desirous to be *thought* Virtuous and Good, than really to *be* so; and when one does good Actions, doing them more for the sake of Others, than our Own; making Reputation a more powerful Motive and Principle of Virtue, than Conscience; coveting and taking greater Satisfaction in the Commendation and Applause of the World,

World, than in the secret Consciouſness and Comfort of having done our Duty.

2. The being much more forward and eager to *revenge* an Injury or Affront, than to *acknowledge* a Favour, and return a Kindness. Insomuch that to own an Obligation is a perfect Trouble and Mortification, a lessening one's self; but the taking Satisfaction reputed a Pleasure, a Pride, an Advantage. And what can be a greater Reproach to our Nature, what more betray the Baseness and Malignity of it, than the verifying that Observation; * *Thanks are a Toil and a Burden; but a Retaliation of Injuries is esteem'd an Addition, and a Gain?*

3. The being more violent and fierce in the Passion of *Hatred*, than in that of *Love*; more disposed to, more vehement in Detraction and Calumnies, than in our Commendations and good Characters of Men and Actions; to feed upon Evil rather than Good; and entertain ill Reports, and an odious Representation of our Neighbour, with more sensible Relish than his Praises; To enlarge more willingly upon these, allow them a greater Share in our Conversation, to employ one's Wit, and Arts of Expression upon this Subject rather than the contrary. As the Generality of Historians, Orators, and Poets do, who are cold and flat in relating Men's *Virtues*, but sharp and poignant, eloquent, and moving in the Description of their *Vices*. And thus we find, that the Expressions, and Figures of Rhetorick, which serve to expose and blacken Men and Things, are mighty different, much more full and copious, more emphatical and significative, than those which are employ'd in Recommendation and Praise.

* Gratia oneri est, Ultio in quæstu habetur.

4. The declining Evil, and addicting one's self to Good, upon false and improper Ends ; when this is not the result of Virtuous Motions and Inclinations from within, nor the Dictate of Natural Reason, nor the Love of Virtue, nor the Sense of Duty ; but some Consideration altogether foreign, and wide of the Matter. Some mean and sordid Prospect of Gain and Interest ; the Itch of Vain-glory, the Hope of Advancement, the Fear of Reproach, Compliance with Custom, Obsequiousness to the Company ; and, in a Word, the not doing Good for the sake of doing it, and because it becomes us, and binds our Conscience ; but upon some occasional Motive, and external Circumstance, that happen'd to fall in with us at that time. And at this rate, the greatest Part of Mankind are only good by chance. Which gives the true Reason of their being so extremely various, and unequal, and fickle, and inconsistent with Themselves ; for so must all Things needs be, that are govern'd by Impulse and Accident ; and nothing but true and well-weigh'd Principles, grounded upon Duty and Reason, can produce a steady, constant, and uniform Virtue.

5. The lessening our Affection for the Persons we have wrong'd, and that for no other Reason, but merely because we have done them an Injury. Is not this very odd ? What Account can be given of it ? We cannot pretend that this Coldness always proceeds from Apprehensions of Revenge ; for perhaps the injur'd Party hath no such Thought, and is as kindly dispos'd to Us as ever : But the Reason seems to be, that the very Sight and Remembrance of him accuses us to our selves, and our Conscience takes these Occasions to fly in our Faces, and reproach our Baseness and Indiscretion. So that if the Person offending does not abate of his Kindness, this is a good Argument that he did not

not offend wilfully, and is not conscious to himself of any thing that can give him a just Dissatisfaction at his own Proceedings. For, commonly speaking, Every one that offends knowingly, and, with a malicious Design, changes in his Affection afterwards, and either turns an Enemy, or at least very cold and indifferent; according to that usual Proverb, * *He that does the Wrong never forgives.*

6. An Observation not much unlike the former, may be made, concerning Persons who have highly oblig'd us: The Sight of such is often an Uneasiness; it upbraids us with a Debt, and awakens ungrateful Remembrances of our Want, either of Disposition, or of Power to requite them. Nay, sometimes Men are so abominably wicked, as even to rejoyce at the Death of a Benefactor, because it eases them of this sort of Pain, according to the Remark of an Old Author; *Some, the more they have been oblig'd, the worse they hate: A small Debt makes a Man your Friend, but a great one will be sure to make him your Enemy.*

7. The taking Delight in Mischief; being glad at the Pains, and Dangers, and Difficulties of other People; and conceiving a secret Indignation and Displeasure at their Prosperity and Promotion. Nor do I mean here any such Envy or Uneasiness as proceeds from Passion and particular Resentment; for this is chargeable upon the Vices of single Persons only. But the Thing I aim at is the common Temper, and natural Condition of Mankind in general, which, without any Pique, or Spleen, or Provocation, disposes even Good Men † to receive a sort of Satisfaction from the Risques of Men in Seas and Storms; to be an-

* Chi offende mai non pardonna.

† Suave Mari magno, &c. Lib. 1

gry at any Preference of our Friends before us, either in Point of Merit or Fortune; to laugh at any little Misfortune that happens to them *; All this argues the Seeds of Ill-Nature to be thick sown, and to have taken deep Root in us.

“ The First of these Instances, which, of all the
 “ rest, seems most hard-hearted, *Lucretius* gives a
 “ much more innocent account of, and acquits it
 “ of the severe Imputation laid upon it here, in
 “ the beginning of his *Second Book*. And, indeed,
 “ what is said there upon that one Instance, is
 “ applicable to all here mention'd, which are
 “ owing to the Love of our Selves, and com-
 “ paring our own Case with that of other Peo-
 “ ple.

*'Tis pleasant when the Seas are rough, to stand,
 And view another's Danger, safe at Land;
 Not 'cause he's troubled; but 'tis sweet to see
 Those Cares and Fears, from which our selves are free.*
 Mr. Creech.

“ And sure there is a great difference between Ma-
 “ lignity and Self-Love; between Tendernefs for
 “ our own Safety, and a Malicious Joy in Cala-
 “ mities and Dangers.

II.
 Conclusion
 of Spiritu-
 al Miseries.

In a Word; To give you a true Representation of the Greatness of our *Misery*, I only add, That the World abounds with Three sorts of Men, which out-do all the rest, both in Number and Reputation; and those are the *Superstitious*, the *Formal*, and the *Pedantick*; These, tho' they are concern'd in different Matters, move by different Springs, and act upon different Stages, (for the Three principal Topicks are *Religion*, *Common Conversation*, and *Learning*; and each of these is the Field appropriated to each of these Persons; Re-
 ligion

ligion to the *Superstitious* ; *Common Conversation*, and the Dealings of Humane Life, to the *Formal* ; and *Learning* to the *Pedants*) But these, I say, tho' engag'd in Matters so distant, are yet all cast in the same Mould, and agree in their general Qualities and Characters ; That they are all weak and mean Souls, extremely defective either in Natural or Acquir'd Abilities, incapable or ignorant ; Men of dangerous Opinions, sick Judgments, nay, sick of a Disease that scarce ever admits of a Recovery. For all the Pains and Trouble you give your self to instruct these Men better, is but so much Time and Labour lost upon them : They are so much in the wrong, and so highly conceited, that none who differ from them can be in the right, that no Good is ever to be done. If you will take their Judgments, none are comparable to themselves for *Virtue* or for *Wisdom*. *Obstinacy* and *Self-sufficiency*, which every where hath too great an Ascendent, reigns Absolute here, and is in its proper Kingdom. Whoever hath once drunk in the Infection of these Evils, there are little or no Hopes left of ever making him a sound Man again. For what is there more exquisitely foolish, what more stiff and inflexible than these Fellows ? They are secur'd by a double Barrier from the Conquests of Reason and Persuasion ; First, by their Weakness, and Natural Incapacity, which disables them from seeing the Strength of Arguments and Reproofs ; and then by a false Confidence in their own Excellencies above the rest of the World, which makes them despise all Others, as their Inferiors, unable to advise, and unfit to reform Those, who are already so much wiser and better than They.

As for the *Superstitious*, they are highly injurious to God, and dangerous Enemies to True Religion. They disguise themselves with a Mask of

The Superstitious.

See
Book II.
Chap. 5.

Piety, and Zeal, and Reverence, and Love for God ; and this Jest they carry so far, as to teaze and torment themselves with Austerities and Sufferings, that were never requir'd at their Hands. And what is to be done with such infatuated Wretches as these, who imagine that those voluntary Afflictions are highly meritorious ; that the Almighty is indebted to them, and much oblig'd by Works which he never commanded ; and that all the rest ought to be releas'd in Consideration of these ? Tell them, they take Things by the wrong Handle ; that they stretch, and pervert, and misunderstand the Scriptures, and lay Burdens upon themselves more and heavier than God ever laid. Their Answer is, that They intend well ; (and that Intention they doubt not will save them) that what they do is from a Principle of Piety and Devotion, and cannot want Merit or Acceptance upon that Account. Besides, there is something of Interest in all this, which you can never prevail with them to part with ; for what Gain is to be propos'd in Prospect, what Satisfaction to be receiv'd in Present, which can make them amends for the mighty Expectations and Raptures of that fond Notion, that by this means God becomes Their Debtor, and they Merit at His Hands.

Formalists.

The *Formalists* are a sort of People entirely devoted to *Form*, and *Shew*, and *Out-side* ; and These think themselves at liberty to indulge their Passions, and gratify any, though never so unlawful, Desires, without Check and Controul, provided they do not offend against the Letter of the Law, nor omit any of those External Observances, which are required in their Behaviour, and look'd upon as the Rules of Living. Here you shall see an old griping Jew, that hath brought God knows how many Families to Beggary and Ruine ; but he hath done no hurt in all this : For he never ask'd for more

more than his Own, at least, what he thought so ; and if upon these Demands, Arrests, and Suits, and Prisons have ensu'd, yet he only suffer'd the Law to take its Course ; and who can blame this honest Man for coming by his Right in the way of Justice ? But O Good God ! how many good Things are neglected, and how many wicked and barbarous Things done, under the Pretence of *Forms*, and the Protection of the *Laws* ! Nothing can be truer, than that *Extremity of Right is Extremity of Wrong*. He that makes this the Rule of all his Proceedings, and allows himself to take the Advantage of the Law upon every Occasion, is so far from an *honest Man*, that he is one of the most *dangerous Knaves*. Such Reason was there for that Saying us'd to this Purpose, *God deliver us from the Formalists*.

By *Pedants*, I mean a sort of prating Fellows, who first tumble over Books with great Pains and Study, and afterwards let fly in all Companies, and vend all they have pick'd up in their Reading, with as much Impertinence and Ostentation ; and all this too, to turn a Penny, and promote their Interest or their Credit by it. There are not in the World a Pack of more little Mercenary Wretches, more unfit for Business, and yet at the same time more forward, and presuming, and conceited of Themselves. Hence perhaps it is, that in all Countries, and all Languages, *Pedant* and *Scholar* are Terms of *Ridicule* and *Reproach*. To do a Thing awkwardly, is to do it like a *Scholar*. To behave one's self like a Clown, and be ignorant of the World, is to be a *mère Scholar*. Such Scholars, I mean, as these, I am now treating of ; for these Reflections do not concern Learned Men in general, but such superficial Pretenders to it, as are only walking and living *Nomenclatures* ; that have a Memory stuff'd full of other Men's Knowledge,

A a 4

See Parag.
9. Fig. 15.

ledge, but none at all of their Own. Their Judgment, their Will, and their Consciences are not one whit improved by it; They are never the wiser, nor more prudent; never the more dextrous in Business, nor the more honest and virtuous, for all the Schemes and Institutions they have run thro'. They can repeat these, but they have not digested them; are Masters of the Speculative Part, but know nothing of the Application and Practice. So that all the Fruit of their Study is but to make them the more acquir'd, more egregious Fools; more full of Themselves, and more noisy and insupportable in all Companies. They swell their Memory, but sink their Wit, and adulterate their Understandings. And in such Persons as these, that *Misery* is most conspicuous, which we lately plac'd the last of that sort, with which the Intellectual Faculty of the Mind seems principally affected.

C H A P. XL.

V. *Presumption.*

- I. **W**E are now come to the last and most hideous Line of the whole Picture; which makes up the other Branch of *Pliny's* Description; For this is indeed the Deformity of our Nature, the Bane of our Minds, the Source of the worst and most erroneous Opinions, both Publick and Private; and yet, as bad as it is, 'tis a Vice natural to, and born with, every Man. Now we shall do well to consider this *Presumption* in its several Respects, above, below, upon the level, within, and without us. As the Object is God, and the Cele-

Celestial Bodies, Terrestrial Bodies, and Beasts ; Man our Equal, and our own Selves : And the whole Matter will turn at last upon these Two Points, The setting too high an Estimate upon our Own, and too low upon other Things ; every Man in this Sense deserving the Character given by our Blessed Saviour, of the *Pharisees, They trusted in Themselves, and despised Others.* A Word or two now upon each of the fore-mentioned Particulars.

And First, with regard to Almighty God, (it is a horrible and melancholy Truth, but true it is, that) all Superstition and false Worship, the affected Excesses, and the wilful Defects in our Religious Services, are entirely owing to the want of a sufficient Esteem and Reverence for God ; the not being sensible what sort of Being He is, and entertaining such Opinions and Idea's of the Divine Nature, as are not sufficiently lofty, and pure, and refined. Now by saying *sufficiently* so, I would not be understood, that our Apprehensions should bear any proportion to the Essential Greatness of his Majesty ; for God is Infinite, and admits of no proportion at all. Consequently there is no possibility in Nature, that our Conceptions should ever soar up to such a height and *sufficiency* as This ; and therefore I mean that *sufficiency* only to be wanting, which Nature hath made us capable of, and Duty requires from us. We do not raise nor direct our Minds, nor dart our Thoughts strong, or high enough, when we form Notions of the Divinity : Alas ! why do I say, not high and strong enough ? when it is but too evident, and our Actions speak it out, that we entertain very feeble, and mean, and low Apprehensions of him. And we serve him indeed accordingly ; we offer him Things most unworthy of him, and deal with him more basely and disrespectfully, than we pretend, or dare, to do, with several of his Creatures.

We

2.

*Presumption
on in re-
spect of
God.*

We discourse, not of his *Works* only, (which yet command some Regard because they are His) but we talk of his *Essence* and *Majesty*, determine his *Will*, interpret his *Judgments*, pass Sentence upon the *Dispensations of his Providence*, and all this more peremptorily, more saucily, than any Man of good Manners would take upon him to do, with the Counsels and Proceedings of his Prince. And yet every one thinks he may make bold with his God in Cases, where to use the same Freedoms with any Person of Honour, would be condemned for insufferable Rudeness and Contempt. A great many Men would reject such Service and Homage, and think themselves highly injured and affronted, if we should talk so meanly of them, and make use of their Name upon such trifling Occasions, and in so contemptuous a manner as we do that of God. We undertake to manage him, go about to flatter and caress, to bend and bring him over, to bribe and to compound with him; nay, I might tremble to say it, some think even to brave and dare him, to snarle and grumble, to take things ill, and be exceeding angry at him. *Cæsar* had his Pilot hoist Sails boldly, and fear nothing tho' Winds and Seas, and Stars and Fate were against him, but buoy himself up with this Confidence, in opposition to all Difficulties, *That He who had Cæsar aboard, could not miscarry.* *Augustus*, after having been Tempest-beaten at Sea, took upon him to set *Neptune* at Defiance, and by way of Revenge, ordered his Image to be taken away from among the rest of the Gods, and excluded the solemn Procession at the *Ludi Circenses*. *Xerxes* scourged the Seas, and sent a Challenge to Mount *Athos*. The *Thracians*, when it Thunders and Lightens, shoot Arrows up against Heaven, with all their Might, that by this means they may bring the Gods to Reason. And there goes a
Story

Story of a certain Christian King, in a neighbouring Country, whom when God had severely chastized, he swore he would be revenged on him; and to make his Words good, commanded, *That for Ten Years next ensuing, no Person within his Dominions should dare to put up any Prayers to God, or make mention of his Name any other way.*

* *Nought is too hard for Man.*

Grown Giants in Impiety.

Our Impious Folly dares the Sky.

We dare assault Jove's glorious Throne,

Nor (still averse to his Command)

Will we permit his lifted Hand

To lay his Thunder down.

Creech.

But not to insist longer upon such prodigious Extravagances, Does not the general Temper and Practice of Mankind justifie that Character given by Pliny; *That no Creature is more miserable, and yet none more proud than Man?* For, on the one hand, he forms to himself vast Conceits of the particular Love, and Regard, and tender Care God hath for him; thinks himself the chief, the only Favourite of Heaven; and yet this Darling serves him after a most unbecoming manner, and worse than the poorest and most despicable of all his Creatures. How then shall we reconcile these Extremes? How can a Life so wretched, a Homage so poor and base, meet and dwell together in the same Person, with such glorious Notions of Himself, and a Preference so vastly great above all the Creation be-

* *Audax Iapeti genus ———*

Nil mortalibus arduum.

Cœlum ipsum petimus stultitiâ, neque

Per nostrum patimur scelus

Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina.

Horat. Lib. 1. Od. 3.

fides?

sides? Is not This to be an Angel and a Swine at once? And indeed Men, who entertain these Opinions, and dishonour God, by living in a Disagreement with them (as the generality of Mankind do) must be content to bear the Reproach of a great Philosopher to some Vicious and Hypocritical Christians; *That they were the bravest Fellows in the World at talking, but the pitifullest and most contemptible Wretches in their Lives and Actions.*

3.
Nature.

We are apt to think our Selves of Moment, and great Consequence to God, to the World, and to Nature in general. That all These are in great Pain and Anxiety upon our Account; That They only watch for our Safety and Preservation; and This makes us look upon *Calamitous Accidents* with Surprise; but especially, to be perfectly astonish'd at *Death*, as if it were a most strange Thing how That should break in upon us, notwithstanding so many Guards that keep Centry about our Persons, and are all (as we imagine) concern'd to secure us from it. For this, among other Reasons, few People ever persuade themselves that any Hour is their last; but almost every Body, suffers himself to be cheated with false Hopes, at the very Instant of expiring. And what is all This but Presumption? We think our selves too significant; and fondly fancy, that this whole Universe must bear a part in our Death; that some great and general Revolution will happen upon it; that all things decay in proportion with our own Bodies, and fail one another in the same Degrees They fail Us; That there is no avoiding it, but They must all undergo the same fatal Shock, the same Dissolution that We do. And in this Universal Delusion, Mankind live, like People upon the Water, who, when their own Vessel moves, seem to draw Houses, and Towns, and Heaven, and Earth along with them. No Body considers that he is single, and
but

but One ; a very small and inconsiderable Part of the Creation : One out of many Millions, whom few have any Interest in, and perhaps fewer yet are the worse for losing ; and the Matter is so far from every Body's going along with him, that scarce any Body will so much as miss him when he is gone ; no more than a Grain of Sand diminishes the Sea-shore, or the falling of a Star, changes the Face of the Sky.

Then again ; *Man* pleases himself, that the Heaven, the Stars, and all that Glorious Movement over our Heads, and indeed the whole Frame and Order of this Material World, was thus created and constituted merely for his Sake : As if that Description of the Heathen were his due, That * *so many Gods were perpetually Ambitious, and contending about his single Person.* And this is a very extravagant Imagination indeed. He is lodged here in the last and lowest Story of the World, at a great distance from the Ætherial Roof ; a Place, that in comparison of the purer Regions above us, may be call'd the Sink of the World, where all the Lees and Dregs settle, with Creatures of the meanest Condition, and liable to receive all those Evacuations of Rain and Vapours, which fall down upon his Head ; nay, from These he receives his very Subsistence ; he lies open to Accidents, that beset and oppress him on every Side ; and yet this poor Wretch looks upon himself as the Master and Commander in Chief of the Universe. 'Tis true indeed, Almighty God hath given him a Dominion over some of his Fellow Creatures ; and it is likewise true, that the rest over which he hath not the same Dominion, are contriv'd for his Mighty Benefit and Convenience ; but it will not follow

4.

* Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos.

from hence, that the whole Creation had no other End than his Service; nor that those vast Globes of Light, and so many Pure Incorruptible Bodies, whose least Virtue is not distinctly known, and which he must be content to gaze at with Wonder and Astonishment, were fram'd and are continued in this Regularity and Perpetuity of Motion, for Man only. From hence, it is confest, this Indigent Wretch derives his Food, his Maintenance, and unspeakable Conveniences; the Rays, the Beauty, the Heat of the Sun, the Rain, and Dew, and other Distillations from Heaven cherish and sustain him; and This, no doubt, was one Intent of the bountiful God that made them. But shall we presume to determine from hence, that this was the Sole Intent and Use of them? Shall we call the Heavens and the Elements our Own, and pretend that Their Motions are only so many Tasks for Our Profit? This were, as if the Beggar should call himself Proprietor of the Wealth out of which he is reliev'd; and the Benefits in this Case are so general, so far from being confin'd to Man alone, that the meanest Fowl of the Air may as well make the same Pretensions; nay, in some Sense, these Creatures may make them better; for Man, who receives Conveniences, hath some Inconveniences too from the Bodies above him; he hath none of them at his own Disposal, he cannot understand how far their Efficacy will extend; nor make any certain Conclusions, what will be hereafter; and this puts him into perpetual Uneasinesses, and Fears and Amazements, lest these Bodies should not keep their Course, nor shed propitious Influences, but occasion barren and sickly Seasons, and so every thing should prove Unkindly and in Confusion; and under the Weight of these Apprehensions he lies and trembles, for what shall fall upon him from Those very Bodies, of which

which he vainly thinks himself Lord and Master ; Whereas Beasts, as they receive the same Advantages of Life and Substance with our Selves, so they receive it without any Disturbance of Mind, or disquieting Presages of the Future ; yea, and without any of those discontented Murmurs and Complaints at what is past too, which restless and ungrateful Man is ever bewailing himself in. I conclude this Observation with that Passage of Seneca ; * *We are not the proper Cause of the World's enjoying the several Seasons, and their Vicissitudes ; Those Things are order'd by Laws peculiar to themselves, in the observance whereof the Will and Purposes of God are executed. We think too highly of our selves, if we suppose we are of such Worth and Consequence, that such and so many Glorious Motions should be contrived merely for our sakes ; nor is our Correspondence with Heaven so intimate, that all the use of the Stars should be to direct, or to declare our Fortunes.*

Note. “ Some Persons, since the Improvement of
 “ Astronomy, have given us juster Notions of the
 “ Magnitude of these Heavenly Bodies ; that several
 “ of them equal, and some very much exceed
 “ the Proportion of this Earthly Globe ; have entertained
 “ Notions of a Plurality of Worlds, furnished
 “ with Inhabitants, as different from Those
 “ we know, as the Regions they inhabit are. A
 “ Notion, which I only mention upon this Occasion,
 “ to hint, that there may be many Uses unknown
 “ to us, served by the Heavenly Bodies ;
 “ And because the Opinion seems to carry no

* Non nos causa mundo fumus, hyemem æstatemq; referendi, suas ista leges habent quibus divina exercentur ; nimis nos suspicimus, si digni nobis videmur, propter quos tanta moveantur. Non tanta cœlo nobiscum societas est, ut nostro fato sit ille quoque siderum fulgor.

“ Impiety at all in it, but pretends to consult the
 “ Glory of God, by exciting Men to a greater
 “ Admiration of his Infinite Power, and Wisdom,
 “ and Goodness, exerted in so much a greater Va-
 “ riety of Creatures, than what we are or can be
 “ acquainted with, I thought it not amiss to in-
 “ sert it here ; though, as I said, ’tis a Notion on-
 “ ly ; and what, as we cannot have an absolute
 “ Certainty for, so we have none against it.
 “ If Reason give any Countenance to this Specu-
 “ lation, Revelation no where forbids it. For
 “ *Moses*, who made it his Business to describe the
 “ World we inhabit, had no Reason to mention
 “ Others, in which we have no Concern ; and
 “ his not mentioning Them, was agreeable to the
 “ Design of his History ; but does not exclude
 “ the Reality or Possibility of any such other Sy-
 “ stems, as were foreign to his Purpose, and so
 “ in no Degree necessary to be taken Notice of.
 “ The Reader, if he be desirous of farther Satis-
 “ faction in this Point, may please to consult the
 “ Eighth of *Dr. Bentley’s* Excellent Sermons against
 “ *Atheism*. p. 4, &c.

5.
Animals.

As for the Things here below upon the Earth,
 that is, Beasts and all Living Creatures, Man looks
 upon them with Scorn and Contempt, as if they
 were of no Consideration at all. Forgetting, that
 they are form’d by the Hands of the same Almighty
 Artificer, and are reckoned among the Riches and
 Possessions of the same Lord ; That the same
 Earth is our Common Mother, and that They and
 He, are of the same Family ; and consequently
 ought not to be slighted and disdained, as if they
 were worthy no part of his Concern, nor bore any
 Relation at all to Him. Hence it is, that these
 Poor Creatures are so much abused ; and treated
 with an Insolence and Cruelty, that flies back
 upon Their and Our Common Master ; for it is
 an

an Affront, and an Impiety, to deal thus by any Thing of His making, such as he does not only own, but express a Tenderneſs for ; thinks them worthy his own Care, and hath appointed certain Laws for their Benefit and Preſervation ; ſuch as, tho' inferior to Us in the moſt valuable Parts, yet he ſeems in ſome Things to have given the Advantage to ; nay, ſuch as, in ſeveral Inſtances, ſhame and reproach our Follies, and are therefore recommended in Scripture, as Maſters for Man to be ſent to School to. But this hath been already mentioned in another Chapter.

It is indeed a Doctrine commonly receiv'd, that *the World was made for Man, and Man for God* ; which in ſome Senſe is certainly true, and what I have ſaid is no Derogation from it. For, beſides that Inſtruction, which all the Creatures in general contribute to, whether thoſe above or below us ; Thoſe uſeful Hints and Reflections they miniſter concerning Almighty God, Our Selves, and Our Duty : Some ſort of Uſe, with regard to Profit, or Serviceableneſs, or Delight, may be drawn from every one of them in particular. From that Part above us, which we have a leſs diſtinct Knowledge of, and which is not at all in our Diſpoſal ; This Firmament ſo nobly vaulted, ſo richly deck'd with Light, and all thoſe rolling Fires above us ; The Advantage Man receives from them, is that of *Contemplation* only. His Soul by theſe is raiſed and transported to admire and to love, to fear and to honour, and to pay moſt profound Reverence to the Almighty Maſter and Maker of ſo Glorious a Frame. In this reſpect it was no ill Remark of *Anaxagoras*, that *Man was created to contemplate Heaven* ; and ſome of the Old Philoſophers accordingly gave him the Title of *εργονοκόπῃς*. From the Creatures in this lower World, he reaps Advantage and Aſſiſtance, receives great Supplies, and Ser-

Service properly so called. But for Men to persuade themselves, that God, in making all these Things, had no other End in his Thoughts and Designs, but purely to consult the Convenience of Mankind : This is too great a Stretch upon the Doctrine mention'd just now, and an Arrogance which I think may very deservedly be charged with all that Folly and Presumption I have laid upon it.

6.

*Man him-
self.*

*Three De-
grees of
Humane
Presumpti-
on.*

*I. Beli-
ving and
Misbelie-
ving.*

The last, but principal Instance of this Presumption, hath *Man* for its Object ; and this must be consider'd with regard to *Himself*, or to his *Fellows* ; *Within*, as to the forming of his Judgment and private Opinions ; or *Without*, as those Sentiments are imparted by conversing with other People. And, upon this Occasion, we will insist upon Three Things, as so many Topicks in close Connexion and Consequence upon one another ; by which Mankind betray at once their great *Weakness* and great *Presumption* ; and, in both, great *Folly*. The first of these consists in Believing and Disbelieving. (I meddle not here with Religion, or Divine Faith, but desire my Reader to recollect what was said in the Preface,) Where Two contrary Vices are observable, which are exceeding common in Humane Life. One of these, and the more general of the two, is *Levity* and *Credulity* ; that is, a Disposition to receive Things, and be persuaded too easily, upon the slightest Inducements ; so that to gain our Assent, any the least Circumstance of Probability, or Pretence of Authority, is sufficient. This is the Effect of Easiness and Simplicity in the worst Sense of the Word ; a Softness and Weakness of Mind, such as we observe in mean Parts and Education, the Ignorant and Effeminate, the Superstitious and Fanciful, Men of great Zeal, and little Judgment, which are all like Wax, always in a readiness to receive any new Im-

Impression, and suffer Themselves to be led about by the Ears with every idle Story. Hence it is, that we see the greatest Part of the World carry'd about with every Blast of Opinion, and possess'd with Notions, before either Age or Maturity of Judgment render them capable of choosing; and accordingly These Opinions are not the result of *Consideration* and *Choice*, but the Prepossessions of *Time* and *Custom*; the Rudiments of their Infancy, the Mode of their Country, or, it may be, mere Chance, have taken fast hold of them; so fast, that they are inseparably wedded to, absolutely subdu'd and enslav'd by them; and no Arguments are able to loosen these Prejudices, and set their Minds at liberty from them. * *Some violent Gush of Wind drives them upon an Opinion, and there they cling, as if they were to save themselves from a Storm, by keeping close to that Rock.* Thus, indeed, the World is manag'd; We take Things upon Trust, and depend upon other People. † *Each Man* is willing to save himself the trouble of Examining; and *had rather believe than judge: A Mistake that hath passed thro' many Hands successively, turns and tumbles us about at Pleasure: And all this from a Custom of assenting too easily, which is exceeding dangerous and unfaithful.* Now this *Credulity*, so common in the World, tho' it be really a very great Instance of *Weakness*, yet is it not without a large Mixture of *Presumption* too: For, to receive and stick by Opinions, and maintain them for certain Truths, without knowing any thing at all of the Matter, this is too much in all Conscience; and therefore some little Enquiry is

* Veluti tempestate delati ad quamcunq; disciplinam, tanquam ad saxum adhærescunt.

† Unusquisq; mavult credere quam judicare, versat nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error; Ipsa consuetudo assentendi periculosa & lubrica.

made into the Causes, and Reasons, and Consequences, tho' none at all is made concerning the Truth of the Thing. We commonly ask, What account can be given of This? or, What can be the manner of bringing that about? all along taking the Matter of Fact for granted, and that Things really are as they are represented; when there is nothing at all in it. We write Tracts, manage Arguments, engage in Disputes, enquire curiously after Causes and Effects of a Thousand Things, which never had any Foundation in Nature; and the whole Argument on both sides is false. One contends it is This way, another That way, and, in truth, it neither is, nor ever was, Any way at all. How many Jests and Banters, pretended Miracles, sham Visions, and counterfeit Revelations, have crafty People imposed upon Ours, and some late Ages of the World? And why should a Man believe such Pretensions to Events, neither Humane nor Natural, when they may be confounded and disproved by Natural and Humane Methods; when Reason can say nothing for them, and Revelation is so far from giving them Countenance, that it says a great deal against them? Truth and Falshood have Faces and Features alike; Their Mien, their Relish, their Motions resemble one another, and the same Eye judgeth of them both. * *Truth and Falshood (says one) border so close upon one another, that a Wise Man should not trust himself upon the Brink of them, but move warily, for fear of sliding into the Wrong.* No Man ought to be believed concerning Matters above the Power and Understanding of a Man; except he come with Authority from above, and bring such Credentials along with him, as are supernatural, and exceed the Operations of Humane Strength; and such no Te-

* Ita sunt similitima falsa veris, ut in præcipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere.

stimony can be, but the Divine. But it is to God alone that this Prerogative of Right belongs, To be believed in whatever he says, for this single Reason, *because He says it.*

The other Vice opposite to This, is a stupid and obstinate *Rashness*, which condemns at all Adventures, and rejects every Thing for false, which Men either do not understand, or are loath to believe; and therefore will by no means have that true, which Interest or Inclination makes them wish may not be so. This is a Property more especially visible in such as abound in their own Sense, and think Themselves more capable and more judicious than their Neighbours; such as Pedantick Pretenders to Learning, Men addicted to Dispute, and Those that are violent in any Party, whether of Church or State. They fancy some little Sharpness in their Wit, and that They see further into Things than the Generality of People do; and This, with a Byass of their own within, makes them forward and fierce; They take upon them to determine every Thing with an Air of Authority, and expect, that their Sentence should be receiv'd for Law. This Vice is yet worse and greater than the former; for it is the Extremity of Folly and Madness, to think we know the utmost Bounds of Possibilities; the secret Springs, and full Extent of Nature; that We can comprehend the Operations of God, and pronounce what He is able, and what He will please to do; to measure all Truth and Falshood by our own Capacities and Understandings; and yet This ought to be the Measure of True and False, to justify the Confidence and the Fierceness, which these sort of Men express in all their Disputes and Definitions of Things: For this is the Eternal Jargon they run you down with, *That's Nonsense, That's False, That's Impossible and Absurd.* And yet how many Things are there, which for a time have been

thought extremely ridiculous, and rejected as impossible, and afterwards have brought such Evidence of their Truth, that we have been forc'd to acknowledge and yield to them ; nay, and after These have been establish'd, we have, by Them, been led to the entertaining of Others yet more surprizing and odd than the former ? And, on the other hand, how many that have been receiv'd for Gospel, have in time lost all their Veneration and Credit, and been discover'd to be mere Errors, and Impositions, and idle Fancies ?

8. *Affirm-
ing and
Condemn-
ing.*

The Second Instance of this kind, which, indeed, is an usual and a natural Consequence of the former, is the being *positive* and *stiff* in asserting or denying, approving or condemning, according as we have been led to entertain or reject Opinions, without sufficient Grounds for our Belief or Mistrust. This differs from the former only in degree, excepting that it adds Peremptoriness and Obstinacy to it, and so the Presumption is worse and more apparent. That *Easiness* and *Credulity* hardens in time, and by degrees degenerates into a *Self-Conceit* and *Positiveness*, which no Arguments can conquer, no Persuasions move or correct. Nay, sometimes the Humour is carry'd on so far, that Men are more eager in asserting what they do not know, than what they do. * *Men persuade themselves more firmly of the Things they least understand, and assent with greater readiness to Points dark and mysterious, that they may be thought to comprehend what really they do not, and from a natural eagerness of the Mind, that catches at every Thing greedily.* It is counted a Reflection, to be out at any Point that is started ; or to yield a Dispute, in which a Man is once engag'd ; and therefore Men discourse with Resolution and Obstinacy, and great

* *Maiores fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt ; cupiditate humani ingenii lubentius obscura creduntur.*

Affurance, and come ready fix'd and determin'd to maintain their Ground at any rate, how little soever they have to offer in Defence of it. Now this exceeding Positiveness, and abounding in one's own Sense, are commonly Signs of Brutality and Ignorance, attended with Arrogance and Folly.

The Third, which is a natural Product of those Two, and the very Top and Extremity of *Pre-³sumption*, is, The *persuading* others, recommending and propagating our own Opinion; and this, not in a mild and gentle Method of fair Reasoning; but with Authority, and in a Dogmatical way; to impose it, as if they were oblig'd in Duty to believe us, and ought not to ask Questions, or doubt of any Thing we say. Now what insupportable Tyranny and Usurpation is This? He that hath receiv'd an Opinion, reckons it a Work of Charity to win others over, and convince as many as he can of it too; and for the better effecting this Charitable Design, he gives it all the Strength and Advantage he can; represents every thing in its best Light, and adds from his own Invention, as much more, as he thinks may be for his Purpose, to make amends for any Defect or Opposition, which he suspects may be met with, from the Apprehension of the Person he proposes the Matter to. And, generally speaking, there is not any thing for which Men are more tenderly concern'd, than for the putting about their Opinions, and gaining as many Profelytes as they can. * *No Man is content to be mistaken alone, but every one draws in others into the same Error with himself.* Nay, so zealous are Men in this Particular, that where ordinary Means of Persuasion are found insufficient, the Defect is supply'd by *Violence and Terror, Sword, and Fire, and Faggot.*

9.

3 *Persuading.*

* Nemo sibi tantum errat, sed aliis erroris Causa & Author est.

This is properly the Vice of Dogmatical and Ambitious People ; such as aim at absolute Dominion, and would fain be governing and prescribing to all the World. And, for the facilitating this Design, and to captivate Men's Understandings, they make use of Two Artifices. The First is, To lay down some general Propositions, which are term'd *Fundamental Principles* ; and such as must be presupposed and granted on all Hands ; and from These, they tell you, you must be so far from departing, that you are not allow'd so much as to dispute, or admit the least Doubt, whether they be true or not. Upon these they raise what Superstructure they please, and so bring the World over to their side ; which hath been a very successful Cheat, in propagating many gross Errors, and giving Authority to Things absolutely false. And, indeed, the Fraud lies chiefly in Those Principles, which ought to be *Truth's Self-evident*, and clear to every considering Man ; but Some have been advanced for such, which upon strict Examination will be found, not only as disputable, but as weak, as false, as any of the Conclusions endeavour'd to be drawn from them ; and the Propositions contrary to These, carry at least the same Face of Probability, and have as much to say for themselves.

Copernicus, Paracelsus.

Some Eminent Persons, we know, of late, have taken upon them quite to alter and overthrow the establish'd, and so long uncontested, Principles and Rules of the Antients, in *Astrology, Physick, Geometry*, and concerning the Nature and Motion of the *Winds*. Now all the Propositions and Notions of Men are equal to be sure, and ought to have the same Authority with us, excepting only so far as Reason gives one the Advantage above another. *Truth* does not depend upon the *Credit* or *Testimony of Man* ; nor are there any Propositions that command an absolute Assent, and whose Authority is uncon-

uncontestable, but what God hath been pleased to reveal; the rest are mere Vanity and Pretence, that challenge Assent so imperiously from us. Now these Gentlemen require us to take their Word, and swallow All they set before us, without chewing; not any Tryal or Examination is allow'd you, which is the greatest Injustice and Tyranny in the World. God (as was observed before) hath this Right incommunicable to any beside Himself, to command our Assent in all he says, upon this score merely, *because he says it.* Where, by God's saying it, is included the Message of all those that are sent, and attested by him, and not any immediate Revelation intended, and nothing else; for in opposition to such Messengers, so commissioned and approv'd it is, that our Lord says, *He that speaketh of himself is a Lyar.*

The Other Method, by which many have been drawn into Errors, is by counterfeiting this Seal from Heaven, pretending some new Miracle, or particular Inspiration, or strange Apparition, or the like; a Trick, which History tells us, hath been often play'd with great Dexterity and Success, by Princes, and Law-givers, and Generals of Armies. The first Persuasion taken from the Party concern'd, soon gets possession of the weaker sort; but this is so nice, so feeble, and so frail, that the least Mistake, or Mismanagement would spoil and break all to pieces again: And wonderful it is to reflect, what famous Impressions have been owing to poor and frivolous Beginnings. But when this Impression comes abroad into the World, it grows to a prodigious Bulk, and stretches it self so, by the help of Time and Numbers, as to take in Men of better Sense, and more discerning Judgments. For it is to no purpose then to kick against a general Belief; a Man hath nothing left to do, but to come in, and make One. The strongest Evidence, and most

most distinguishing Test of Truth, is the number of Believers, and the number of Years that have maintained it : And yet it is certain, that *Fools* are more than *half the World* in every Age. But, notwithstanding this disparity, it is a hard matter to fix in an Opinion, contrary to the general Sense of Mankind. The Fallacy however last-mention'd hath been abundantly seen in the many Juggles and Cheats which have astonish'd the Multitude, and been palmed upon them for new Miracles ; but by some Accident or other, or by a nicer Observation of some more jealous and acute than the rest, the whole Cheat hath been detected and exposed within a very little while ; and yet These very Cheats, if they had gather'd Strength, and not been stifled in their Infancy, had done their Business, and met with Wonder and Adoration every where. These Discoveries however of false Miracles, and such as are taken upon Trust, are a greater Confirmation of the True, such as the Faith of Christians is built upon ; which have neither wanted Time to ripen them, nor Curiosity of Enquirers to detect them, nor the Malice of Enemies to pervert and overthrow them, nor the Byass of wicked Inclinations to render Men averse from surrendering themselves up to the Doctrines confirmed by them. And yet in despite of all These, They did, and do, and will continue to prevail and triumph in the Minds of Men. And well it were, if better Care were taken to examine all Pretensions of this kind very nicely, that so the True might not suffer in their Reputation and Effect, for want of being distinguish'd from the False ; and That poor Shift of profane Wretches might be exposed and beaten down, who take shelter in some such Discoveries as have been here mention'd, and, from a few acknowledged Impostures, and some Others which look suspiciously, and perhaps, if care-

carefully traced up to their first Head, might have been found no better, endeavour to insinuate, that None ever were otherwise. It must be confest, in the mean while, that the Things these Tricks are contriv'd to support, and lead Men into, are a mortifying Consideration ; the great Variety of contending Sects and Religions, and the infinite Superstitions still in use among some Parts of *Christendom*, the Ceremonies, and corrupt Customs which are Relicks of *Pagan* Idolatry, and which there is no bringing the People off from. And now, by this whole Discourse, we see what precious Creatures we are, and what we are like to come to at last, when we blindly follow such blind Leaders.

The

The Fifth and Last Respect under which Man was to be considered; consisting of the Differences between Some and Others; and of the Comparisons arising from hence.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Difference and Inequality of Men in general.

THERE is not any One Thing in all this lower World, wherein so great Variety is observable, as in Mankind; not any general Head or Species of Beings, whose Individuals differ in so many, and so distant Particulars from one another. If *Pliny*, and *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* may be credited; There are Men in some Places, whose Form and Figure bears but very little Resemblance to this of Ours; and several Mongrels and Medleys between the Man and the Beast. Some Countries are inhabited by Men without any Head, whose Eyes and Mouth are placed in their Breasts; some by Hermaphrodites; some, where they go upon all Four; some, where they have but One Eye, and That in the middle of their Forehead; and a Head shaped
more

more like a Dog, than such as we see Men usually have. Some Places, where the lower Part is all Fish, and they live in the Water; where their Women bring Children at Five Years old, and live no longer than Eight; where their Skull and Forehead is so hard, that no Iron can break or enter it, but rebounds back again; where they are transformed into Wolves, and Sheep, and Oxen, and at last return to the Humane Form again; where they have no Mouth, and all the Nourishment they are sustained by, is from the Smell of certain Scents. And, to go no farther, This very last Age hath discovered, and many now living have seen and felt Men, that have no Beards at all; that live without the use of Fire, or Corn, or Wine; and Countries, where what We abominate as the most odious Deformity, is look'd upon and valu'd as the most exquisite Beauty; (as hath been hinted before.) As for the Diversity of Customs and Manners, That will be the Business of another Head. What hath been related here may possibly seem incredible; but if it do, our Point will be prov'd without it. For go no farther than our own Knowledge, and what infinite Differences are there in *Faces*? infomuch that Two are nowhere to be found, exactly and in all Particulars alike. 'Tis true, sometimes there happen Mistakes of one Person for another, because of a very great Likeness between them; but then These always happen, when One of the Parties is not by. For when we meet them Both together, the Error vanishes; and we easily discern a Difference, which serves for a sufficient Mark of Distinction to us, tho' perhaps it is such a one, as we cannot readily tell what to call it.

The *Souls* of Men are yet more various, and full of distinguishing Characters, than their *Bodies*; For there is in this respect, not only a greater Difference

ference between Man and Man, than any that can be discover'd between Beast and Beast: But (which is but a bad Business, and not much for our Honour) the distance is more between some Men and Others, than it seems to be between some Men and Beasts. For one of the most excellent and apprehensive Animals, seems to make much nearer approaches to the Understanding and Sagacity of Men of the lowest Form, than Those Men to some of the most capable and accomplish'd Persons. Now this mighty Difference between Men proceeds from inward and unseen Causes; from the Mind, which consists of such variety of Parts; and it is brought about by such intricate Springs and Principles of Motion, that the Contemplation of them would be infinite, and the Degrees depending upon them without number.

Now the last Part of our Undertaking for attaining to a right Knowledge of Man, must consist of the Distinctions and Differences observable in Him: And These are of several sorts, according to the different Parts of which Humane Nature is compounded, and the different Methods and Capacities in which Men may be consider'd, and compar'd with one another. At present we will instance in Five, which seem to be the Principal; and of so large Extent, that all the rest may be reduc'd to them. For, generally speaking, all that is in Man is either Body or Spirit, Natural or Acquired, Publick or Private, Apparent or Secret; and accordingly this Fifth and Last Consideration shall branch it self into Five Particulars, which shall be so many Capital Distinctions between Man and Man.

The First of these is *Natural, Essential, and Universal*; in which the whole Man, both Body and Mind, are concern'd.

The Second is principally *Natural and Essential*; but in some measure *Artificial* and acquir'd

too; and this concerns the Strength and Capacity of the Mind.

The Third is *Accidental*, and depends upon Men's Conditions and their Duties respectively; the Ground of all which is taken from the Circumstance of Superiour or Inferiour.

The Fourth is likewise *Accidental*, and relates to Men's particular Professions, and different ways of Living.

The Fifth and Last considers them with regard to the *Advantages* and *Disadvantages*, by which either Nature or Fortune hath distinguished them.

C H A P. XLII.

The First Difference whereby Men are distinguish'd, which is Natural, and Essential, and derived from the several Climates of the World.

THE First, most remarkable, and universal Distinction between some Men and Others, is That which regards the whole Person, the Mind and Body both, and all the Parts whereof Man consists. And This is deriv'd from the different Situation of Countries, and Divisions of the World; In proportion to which there necessarily follows a Difference in the Aspects and Influences of the Heavens, the Distance of the Sun, the Temperament of the Air, and the Nature of the Soil: And from hence Men receive different Complexions, and Statures, and Countenances; nay, different Manners and Dispositions; and different Faculties

culties of the Soul too. * *The Climate does not only contribute very much to the Strength of the Body, but also to the Vigour of the Mind. At Athens the Air is thin and fine, from whence the Athenians are generally sharp, and of quick Parts : At Thebes it is thick and foggy, and this makes the Inhabitants and Natives of that Country, stupid and dull, gross and robust. This Consideration mov'd Plato to thank God, that he was a Native of Athens and not of Thebes.*

† *Prolifick Rays shed by the Partial Sun,
Are not confin'd to Seeds and Plants alone ;
Souls too the differing Genial Influence know,
And relish of the Soil in which they grow.*

As the Nature of the Fruits, and of other Animals is very different, according to the Regions where they spring, and are bred ; so Men likewise owe their Temper to their Country ; and upon this account bring into the World with them Dispositions Greater or Less, to War, Courage, Justice, Temperance, Docility, Religion, Chastity, Wit, Goodness, Obedience, Beauty, Health, and Strength. Upon this account *Cyrus* would not permit the *Persians* to quit their own Country, which was rough and rocky, for another that was champaign and smooth ; and the Reason he gave was, That soft and pleasant Soils produce Effeminate People ; and Fruitfulness in the Ground causes Barrenness in the Minds of the Inhabitants.

According to this Ground-work we may erect general Schemes of the World, by parcelling out

* *Plaga Cœli non solum ad robur Corporum, sed & animorum facit. Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo etiam acutiores Attici : crassum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes.*

† *Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Jupiter auctiferâ lustravit lampade terras.*

the Countries of it into Three large Divisions, and the Natives into as many Dispositions. The Three general Divisions to be made on this Occasion, shall comprehend the Two Extremities of North and South, and the Middle Region between them both. Each Part or Division shall consist of Sixty Degrees. The First shall be plac'd under the Line, and take in Thirty Degrees on each side of it ; that is, All that Part of the Globe contain'd within the Two Tropicks, and some small Matter more. In which Part lie those that are commonly call'd the Hot and Southern Countries, and that which Astronomers and Geographers distinguish by the Title of the *Torrid Zone*; *Africa* and *Æthiopia* in the middle between East and West ; *Arabia*, *Calicut*, the *Moluques*, and *Java* Eastward ; *Peru* and the great Seas Westward. The Second or Middle Division goes Thirty Degrees beyond the former on each side, reckoning from the Tropicks towards the Poles ; and these are the Moderate Climates, or *Temperate Zones*. This includes all *Europe* and the Mediterranean Sea, between East and West ; the greater and lesser *Asia* Eastward ; and *China*, *Japan*, and *America* to the Westward. The Third extends it self Thirty Degrees farther yet, which lie nearest to each Pole ; These are the *Frigid Zones*, the Frozen Regions, and they that are call'd the Northern Nations, as *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Estotilan*, *Magellan*, and all that Tract which, because not hitherto fully discover'd, goes by the Name of *Terra Incognita*.

According to this general Partition of the World, the Qualities and Dispositions of the People are proportionably different : And that, whether we regard the Body, the Mind, Religion, or Manners ; as this little Table here subjoyn'd will more distinctly represent the Matter.

For I. As to their Bodies.	The <i>Northerly</i> People are Tall and Big, Phlegmatick, Sanguine, White or light Tawny, their Voices strong, their Skin soft and Hairy, great Eaters and Drinkers, strong and robust.	The Temperate and Middle Regions are in a Mean, and of a Nature between these two Extremes, Moderate and in a State of Neutrality, (as it were) in	<i>Southern</i> People are Low of Stature, Small built, inclining to Melancholy, of cold and dry Constitutions, Black and Tawny, disposed to Solitude, their Voices small and weak, their Skin hard, little Hair, frizled and shaggy, abstemious and weak.
II. Their Minds.	Heavy, Dull, Stupid, Foolish, credulous, easy to be imposed upon, inconstant in their Humors and Opinions.	all these respects. Partaking in some measure of both Qualities, but most	Ingenious, Apt, Wise, Prudent, Subtle, Positive in their Opinions, Obstinate, Unpersuadable.
III. Their Religion.	Not much addicted to Religion, cold and negligent in Devotion.	inclining to the Dispositions of that Division	Given to Superstition, Studious, and Contemplative.
IV. Their Manners.	Warlike, Valiant, Hardy, Laborious, Chaste, not apt to be Jealous, Cruel, Inhumane.	upon which they border nearest.	Averse to War, Cowardly, Lascivious, Jealous, Cruel and Inhumane.

It is no difficult Matter to evince the Truth of these Characters, and assign very probable Reasons, why the Persons here mentioned should thus differ from each other. As to those Differences, which relate to the Body; we have Evidence of Sense for them, and our Eyes supply the Place of a Thousand Arguments. If there be some excepted Cases from the general Rules, they may very easily be accounted for, (tho' indeed these Exceptions are but very few) The mingling and promiscuous Marriages of several Nations; the Winds, the Waters, and particular Situation of the Places where they dwell, may each of them contribute to it, and all together may make a considerable Alteration. Thus a very high and mountainous Country may vary remarkably from a flat under the same Latitude; nay, this different Site may cause some Variation in the very same Country or City. *Plutarch* observes, that the Humours of Those who were born and dwelt in the upper Town at *Athens*, were very distant from Those of the lower Town, and by the Sea-side about the *Piræean* Port. A high Mountain on the North-side of a Valley, will render the Plain to the Southward of it, to all Intents and Purposes, a Southern Climate; and by the same Reason, a Mountain to the Southward, which intercepts the Sun, will give the Valley beyond it the Effects of a Northern Climate.

As for those Differences, which relate to the Mind; We know very well, that Mechanical Improvements, and most Laborious and Handicraft Arts come out of the North, where the People are remarkable for indefatigable Industry and Toil. But Learning and Speculative Sciences move with the Sun, and come from the South to Us. *Cæsar*, and the Ancients, give the *Egyptians* the Character of a most Ingenious, and exceeding Subtle People; and the Scripture takes Notice, as one Commenda-

Acts vii.
26.

tion and great Accomplishment of *Moses*, that he had been instructed, and was *well skilled in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians*. From thence first Philosophy set forward into *Europe*; for the *Greeks* were beholding to *Agypt* for the Fundamentals and Elements of Wisdom. Greatness and State seems to have begun there, by reason of the Vigour and Subtilty of their Parts. The Guards of Princes, even of Them, whose Dwellings and Dominions are in the South, are usually composed of Northerly Men; as being look'd upon to have more Strength of Body, and less of Mind; fit for Fight and Defence, but not qualify'd for subtle Plots and secret Designs, nor disposed to Treachery and Malice. What was said of *Hannibal*, is true of these Southern Nations, They are of a Disposition that will serve for Great Vices, and Great Virtues, and may be eminent in either: That which is chiefly commendable in the Northern, is Good-Nature, and Plainness, and undesigning Honesty. The intermediate Sciences, such as are mix'd, partly Speculative, and partly Practical; Politicks (for Instance) and Laws, and Eloquence, and the like, are owing to the Middle Regions between those Extremes, and most conspicuous and improved there. For it is observable, that the Greatest and most Flourishing Empires and States, have been seated in this Part of the World.

3.
Religion.

As to our Third Particular: Most Part of the *Religions* practised in the World, came from the South; and what Mankind generally observe at this Day, is either what begun there, or Additions and Improvements upon it. *Agypt*, and *Arabia*, and *Chaldea*, have been their Teachers and Patterns; and *Africa* is observ'd to have more Superstition in it, than all the World besides. Witness, the Frequency of their Vows, and the incredible Magnificence of their Temples. As for the Northern Nations, *Cæ-*

far

far takes Notice, That they have but very little Regard to *Religion*, but employ and delight themselves chiefly in *War* and *Hunting*.

For the *Manners* and *Dispositions* of Men in general ; look upon the First in regard to War, and it is most evident, that Numerous Armies, Military Arts and Discipline, Engines, and Instruments, and Inventions of this kind, are originally deriv'd from the North. The Nations which set out from thence, *Scythians*, and *Goths*, and *Vandals*, and *Hunns*, and *Tartars*, and *Turks*, and *Germans* ; These have fought, and subdu'd all other Nations, and ravag'd the whole World. The Devastations they made, and the Barbarities they exercised, gave Occasion to that Proverb, That *all Evil came out of the North*. Duels, and Set Combats, are deriv'd from Them. *Solinus* says, the Northern Nations worship the Blade of a Sword, stuck down into the Earth. Other People have not been able to conquer them ; Not even the *Romans*, who vanquished the rest of the World, but were Themselves overcome and destroy'd by Them. It is remarkable, that the South Wind makes them weak and faint, and that in Proportion as they advance nearer the South, they degenerate and grow feeble ; and so just contrary, The Southern Nations, when they move Northward, improve their Constitutions, and feel Themselves grow much more hardy and strong. Upon the Account of this Courage and Warlike Spirit it is, that the Northern People cannot endure to be insulted and tyranniz'd over ; They are Enemies to Arbitrary Power, and Absolute Dominion ; are great Lovers of Liberty ; and submit most willingly where the Governments are Elective. As for Chastity and Jealousy ; In the North One Man hath but One Wife, (as *Tacitus* observes) and he thinks One Wife sufficient too ; They are by no means inclin'd to Jealousy, (says *Munster*)

as one may guess by Men and their Wives bathing together in a Company of Strangers. Polygamy is practised all over the whole Southern Tract. All *Africa*, (says *Solinus*) is devoted to the Worship of *Venus*. Southern Men have a strange Propension to Jealousy, and even die with the Rage of it ; and therefore they get Eunuchs for their Security, and set Them as a Guard upon their Women. Thus the *Grand Seignior* does in his Seraglio, where he keeps vast Numbers of Ladies, (like a Stable of Mares) to breed upon.

In *Cruelty* both Extremes resemble one another ; but tho' the *Effect* be the same, the *Cause* is not so ; as will be explain'd presently, when we come to consider the Causes of these Differences. The most barbarous Methods of Punishment, such as Breaking upon the Wheel, and Impaling Men alive, came from the North. The Merciless Cruelties of the *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, are abundantly notorious ; The *Germans* (*Tacitus* tells us) never punish Malefactors by Legal Process, but fall upon them, and cut them to Pieces like Enemies. The Southern Nations too slay their Criminals alive ; and their Desire of Revenge is so eager and impatient, that sometimes they run stark-mad, if they cannot find Means to satisfy it. Between these most distant Regions, the Nations are full of Kindness, and Good-Nature. The *Romans* usually inflicted no greater Punishment, than that of Banishing their most grievous Offenders. The *Greeks* mingled a stupifying Draught of Hemlock, and other Poysonous Drugs, yet so that it should be sweet upon the Palate ; and This they gave their condemn'd Persons to drink and die with. And *Cicero* says, That Humanity and Courtesy seem to be the Portion and peculiar Qualities of the *Lesser Asia*, and to have been from thence diffused over the rest of the World.

Now

Now, the True Cause, from whence all these Differences, both in the Persons and the Dispositions of Men, proceed ; is no other than the inward natural Heat, being distributed among the People of these several Climates, so very unequally as it is : For each Country differs from the other, according as these Proportions differ. The Northern Nations have it in a very great degree, by reason of the great Coldness of their Air, which keeps this Heat, and shuts it up close ; as we find Cellars in Rocks and deep Wells hottest in Winter ; and, to go no farther from Home, so are our own Breast and Stomach, because of the Strength and Abundance of inward Heat at that Time. Now, This must needs be much weaker in Southern People, because the exceeding Vehemence of the Scorching Heat without, and the Force of the Sun-beam scatters, and draws it outwards. As our Stomachs and Places under Ground are coolest in Summer, and we feel our inward Burnings abated by Sweating. From this Difference, I say, and unequal Degrees of Natural Heat, arise the several Differences already mentioned ; not such only as the Body is concern'd in, for These are visible and obvious ; but Those that make a Change in the Minds of Men too : For the Southerly People being colder in their Constitutions, are from hence disposed to Melancholy ; and this makes them Staid and Solid, Constant, Contemplative, Ingenious, Wise, Religious, and Devout. For Wisdom and Docility is most eminently visible in Beasts of a cold Temperament ; as Elephants particularly, which are more Melancholick than any other Animals, and are manifestly the most Apprehensive and apt of any, all which I impute to the Coldness of their Blood. From the same Superfluity and Predominance of Melancholy in their Temper, the Southern People seem to be more

5.
The Cause
of these
Differences.

Lascivious and Lustful than others, this being a sharp and fretting Humour, and apt to provoke such Inclinations ; as we see it in Hares particularly. From the same sharp fretting Melancholy, they are Barbarous and Cruel ; for That whets the Passions, and urges them to Blood and Revenge. Now the Northern People, in whose Constitution Phlegm is most predominant, and who abound in Blood and Spirits ; are just opposite to the Former, and have the direct contrary Qualities, excepting that they agree in that single Point of Cruelty. But This in these Parts of the World proceeds chiefly from a very different Reason ; and that seems to be Want of Judgment ; so that, like Beasts, They are strong in their Passions, and weak in those Faculties, that should controul, and keep them in. The Countries of the Middle Division, abound in Blood and Choler, and so are delivered from the Ill Effects of both Extremes, Phlegm and Melancholy ; and accordingly these are Moderate in their Passions, Good-humour'd, Cheerful, Nimble, and Apt, and Active.

It were possible to represent the different Temper and Spirit of these Three Sorts of People, after a yet more nice and perfect manner, by making the Application and Comparison to extend to all kind of Things whatsoever ; A short Scheme whereof this little Table will present you with ; and by That you will perceive, what are the particular Qualities, Influences, Improvements, and Actions of each of them. For, according to what hath been already observ'd upon this Head, we must assign to the

Qualities

	Northern.	Middle Climate.	Southern.
Qualities of the Soul.	Common Sense.	Discourse and Ratiocination.	Intellect.
	Force and Courage, like that of Bears and Beasts.	The Reason and Justice of Men.	The Subtilty of Foxes, and Religion of Divines.
Planets.	<i>Mars.</i> } War. <i>Luna.</i> } Hunt- ing.	<i>Jupi-ter.</i> } Empe- rours. <i>Mer-cury.</i> } Ora- tours.	<i>Satur.</i> } Contem- plation. <i>Venus.</i> } Love.
	Arts and Manufactures.	Prudence, and Knowledge of Good and Evil.	Speculative Wisdom, and Knowledge of True and False.
Parts and Offices in the Commonwealth	Labourers and Artisans, and Soldiers.	Magistrates, discreet and provident Persons.	Prelates, Divines and Philosophers.
Qualities of different Ages.	Young Men, Aukward and Unapt.	Grown Men, good Managers, and Men of Business.	Old Men, Grave, Wise and Thoughtful.

These

These are the peculiar Excellencies, and most remarkable Distinctions, which may be attributed to this general Division of North and South. The Nations that lie Westward, and the People that dwell upon the Mountains, approach, and have a great Affinity to the Northern Climates; because of the Cold, to which those Situations are more expos'd; which is also the Case of Them who live at a great distance from the Sea. They are Warlike and Fierce, Lovers of Liberty, and have more Honesty and Simplicity in their Tempers. And so again, the Eastern Countries resemble the Southern, as do also Those that dwell in the Champaign and great Valleys, and the Borderers upon the Sea. They are more Tender and Effeminate, by reason of the Fruitfulness of their Soil; for Fertility inclines Men to Softness and Pleasure. And your Islanders are commonly Subtle, and Cunning, and Deceitful, by reason of that Commerce and Correspondence they hold with Men and Nations of different Tempers abroad.

From this whole Discourse we may conclude in general, that the Privilege of the Northern Climates lies chiefly in the Qualifications of the Body; Strength, and a Robust Constitution is their peculiar Excellence and Portion. The Southern have the Advantage in the Mind; Subtilty, and Penetration, and Quickness of Parts, is Their Talent. The Middle Regions have somewhat of Both, and partake of all These Excellencies; but of Each in less Degrees and moderate Proportions. From hence likewise we may understand, that the Manners and Original Dispositions of Men, simply consider'd, are not Vices or Virtues in their own Nature, but Necessary and Natural Effects. And the absolute renouncing or devesting our selves of These; nay, the perfect Reformation of them, is something more than difficult; it is in some Cases

out of our Power. But the sweetning, and moderating, and reducing these Natural Extremes to Temper, and a due Medium ; the watching over them carefully, and restraining their Motions, This is properly our Duty, and the Business of Wisdom and Virtue.

C H A P. XLIII.

The Second Distinction, and nicer Difference, which regards the Souls of Men, or the Internal Qualifications and Capacities of their Minds.

THIS Second Distinction, which concerns the Minds of Men, and their inward Accomplishments, is by no means so manifest as the former : It is not obvious to Sense at all, nor does it fall within the compass of every one's Notice and Observation. The Causes of it are likewise compounded ; for it depends partly upon Nature, and partly upon Industry and Art ; and so extends to our acquir'd Excellencies, as well as to Those that are born and bred with us. According to this Distinction, there are (as was observ'd before) Three sorts of Men, which divide them into Three Classes or Degrees of Souls.

I.

Three Sorts and Degrees of Men in the World.

In the First and lowest of these Ranks we may place those weak and mean Souls, which are almost of a Level with Body and Matter ; of slender and narrow Capacities ; almost perfectly passive, and such as Nature seems to have made on purpose to Endure and Obey ; to live under Subjection and Management, and tamely to follow their

their Leaders; In a Word, such as are *but just Men*, and *no more*.

In the Second and middle Row, are Those of a tolerable Judgment and Understanding, and such as make some Pretensions to Wit and Learning, Management and Address: These Men know Something, but they are not sufficiently acquainted with Themselves; They are content to take up with Opinions commonly receiv'd, and stick fast to their first Impressions, without troubling Themselves, or indeed being judicious enough, to enquire into the Truth, and Bottom of Things; nay, were they capable of finding their deep and most abstruse Causes, they think this an unlawful Curiosity, and so make the Submission of their Judgments a Principle of Duty and Conscience. They look no farther than that little Spot of Ground where they stand Themselves, and take it for granted, that Matters are, or ought to be, all the World over, exactly the same with what they see them at home; and all that differ from them in *Customs* or *Opinion*, they look upon with *Pity* or *Disdain*; and allow no better Names to, than *Ignorant* and *Unciviliz'd*, *Wild* and *Barbarous*. They live in perfect Slavery to local Laws, and the Vogue of that Village or City where they have dwelt ever since they were hatch'd; and this they do, not only in a quiet Compliance, and orderly Obedience to them, (which it is the Duty of every Man, even the ablest and most judicious, to do) but they conform their Sense, and their Soul to them; and are verily persuaded, that what is believ'd and practis'd in their own Town, is the *infallible Standard of Truth*; the Only, or the Best Rule of Virtue; and that all Men's Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, ought to be measur'd by Theirs. These sorts of Men belong to the School and District of *Aristotle*; They are Positive and Peremptory, abounding

abounding in their own Sense, and impatient of Contradiction : They look more at Convenience than Truth ; and consider what will make most for the Benefit of the World, and turn to best Account, rather than make it their Business to find Things as they really are, and recommend what is Best in it self. This Class consists of infinite Subdivisions, great Variety of Attainments and Degrees ; the uppermost and most capable among them are such as sit at Helm, and govern the World ; those that hold Empires and Kingdoms in their Hand, and either give Commands, or counsel those that do.

In the Third and Higest Order, are the Men blest with a lively, clear, and penetrating Wit ; a sound, solid, and stable Judgment ; that do not content Themselves with bare Hearsay, nor set up their Rest in general and receiv'd Opinions ; that suffer not their Minds to be prepossess'd and won over by the publick Vogue, nor are at all kept in Awe, or afraid to oppose and dissent from the common Cry, as being very well satisfy'd, how many Cheats there are abroad in the World ; and that some Things, no better than Falshood and Jest, at the bottom, have been entertain'd, approv'd, extoll'd, nay even reverenc'd and ador'd. For such were the greatest part of the old Philosophy and Physick, such the Divinations, and Oracles, and all the Idolatry and Trumpery of the Pagan Worship ; which prevail'd, even in the most refin'd Countries, for many Generations together, and kept Mankind in slavery to most wicked and miserable Delusions. These Men therefore are for bringing every Thing to the Light, fathoming it to the Bottom, entring into mature and impartial Deliberation, without Passion or Prejudice ; searching into its abstrusest Causes, its most secret Motives and Springs, and tracing them up to their first Head.

They

They had much rather continue under the Uneasiness of Doubt and Dissatisfaction, and suspend their Assent for a while, than run themselves into an Error, and take up false Confidences, and strong Persuasions of Things, which they have no sufficient Ground to believe or affirm : For That is the effect of Laziness or Littleness of Soul ; grudging the Pains, or wanting the Courage to examine fairly ; of Easiness and Credulity, of an unsettled Judgment, or a rash and hasty Determination. These alas ! are but very Few ; and may be reckon'd *Retainers* to *Socrates* and *Plato* : They are grave and sober, modest and reserv'd ; they have a greater respect to Truth, and the Reality of Things, than the Usefulness and Convenience of them ; and had much rather inform Themselves and Others rightly, than entertain or propagate a Mistake, which might tend to their Service and Advantage. Now if These have good Moral Dispositions withal ; if all the Accomplishments already mention'd, be crown'd with Integrity, and Probity, and Virtuous Living, They are then Wise indeed, The very Persons whose Character we are now enquiring after, and such as this whole Treatise is intended to make Men. But we must not expect the World should pay them all that Deference which is their due. For they disoblige Mankind by forsaking the common Road, dissenting from their receiv'd Notions and Rules ; making new and troublesom Discoveries, and not swallowing all that is brought to them without Chewing. This makes the Vulgar look upon them with a very jealous Eye, as dangerous Persons ; and to distinguish them by the Titles of *Fanciful Men*, *Virtuosi*, and *Philosophers*, in a particular and abusive Sense of the Word.

Now

Now the First of these Classes is abundantly more numerous than the Second; and so likewise the Second proportionably than the Third. Those of the First, and those of the Last Order, the lowest and the sublimest Souls, never trouble the World at all, nor make any Clutter or Disturbance. The One are unqualify'd and unable, they are beneath, and want Strength to do it: The other are as much above it, too Wise, and too Great, to descend to any Troubles of that kind. They have a sufficiency and firmness in their own Mind, and are not concern'd for Things not worth their Care. Those of the Middle Rank make all the Bustle and Noise; the Disputes, and Distractions, and Publick Commotions are all owing to Them. Their Condition and Temper disposes them to it, which is positive and conceited, full of Vanity and Presumption; always in action, and never suffering any Thing else to be at rest. Those of the Lowest Degree, are the very Dregs and Settling of Mankind, the Sink and Refuse of the World; which, like the Lees, falls to the Bottom of its own accord; and may be compared to the Element of Earth, which hath nothing to do, but to receive all that comes, and bear all that is cast upon it from Above. The Second Stage is like the Region of the Air, where all those Meteors are form'd, which crack about our Ears, and produce the Changes of Seasons and Weather, and all the Alterations that affect this lower World; and when they have terrify'd us with dreadful Noises and Expectations, at last dissolve, and fall down upon the Earth. Those of the Highest Quality are like the Firmament, those Æthereal and Higher Regions, not far distant from Heaven itself, which are always clear and serene, peaceable and pure.

This

This Difference between Some Men and Others, is in some degree owing to Nature, and the Original Disposition; the first Composition and Temperament of the Brain; which makes a mighty difference according to the predominance of Moist and Hot, and the several Proportions, in which each of these Qualities are mixt: For the Minds of Men, and their Understandings, will vary wonderfully, and they will be Judicious, Smart, Valiant; or Weak, Dull, and Cowards, according to the laying of these Foundations at first. But then the Building upon that Groundwork is the Business of Instruction and Discipline; Experience, and getting acquainted with the World. So that these Distinctions are partly Artificial and Acquir'd too, and a Man's own Industry and Observation is of great Use, to disabuse his Mind, and bring it to a Manly Sense of Things. I add upon this Occasion, that we shall deceive our selves extremely, if we suppose any of these Classes confin'd to particular Professions or Denominations of Men; for there are some of all sorts in all Circumstances and Characters; High and Low, Learned and Ignorant, Good and Bad; some of the meanest Souls in the Gown, and some of the last and most exalted Spirits in high Shoes; some of slender Capacities, but entirely Virtuous; and some of wonderful Natural Endowments, who are Monsters of Vice. So that indeed, as the Differences themselves admit of great Variety, That of the several Degrees under each Division, and the Dispositions of the Persons so distinguish'd, is infinite and unconceivable.

2.
Another
Distinction.

There is also another Distinction sometimes made between Men, with regard to the Abilities and Internal Accomplishments of the Mind: For some are able to make their own Way, beat out a Passage where there was no Path, no Light before; and

and are so become their own Masters in Virtue and Wisdom. These are happy Men indeed ; Men of the largest Size ; and there are but few to whom Nature hath been so partially bountiful. Others have need of Assistance ; and of these again there are Two sorts. Some only want Information ; if you do but light them, and shew them, it is sufficient ; They will follow readily of themselves. But Others require more Help ; a Torch and a Guide is not enough for Them ; They have need to be supported, and taken by the Hand : A kind Friend to draw and pull them forward, and a Spur sometimes to quicken them in their Pace. As for Those, whom Nature hath furnish'd so ill, that they are incapable of Instruction and Amendment, (which is the Case of some in the Lowest Class ;) or Them who have corrupted Nature ; and are grown restiff and intractable ; which is but too visible in many of the Second Class,) I mention them not ; for They (like Beasts that will neither lead nor drive) can only be left to their own Ruine ; desperate, fool-hardy Wretches, of whom no Account at all is to be made, nor any Good to be expected.

C H A P. XLIV.

The Third Distinction and Difference between Men, which is Accidental, and relates to their Degrees, Conditions, Offices, and Relations.

THIS *Accidental Distinction*, which regards the State of Life wherein Men are placed, the Offices they execute, and the Relations they mutually bear to one another, is grounded upon the Two great Principles, and Fundamental Supports of all Humane Society, which are, Commanding and Obeying, Power and Subjection, a Superiour and an Inferior Station. * *For were it not for Government and Obedience, all this goodly Fabrick would fall to Pieces.* This Distinction I shall first endeavour to represent to you in the gross, by the following Table.

* Imperio & Obsequio omnia constant.

Another
Distinction
is,

The

The First and general Division.

All Power and Subjection is either

1. Private, which extends to

2. Publick, and this again is either.

1. Families and Household Government, and here the mutual Relations are contracted Four Ways ; and the Authority is of Four Sorts.

2. Corporations and Colleges and Civil Communities, such as are call'd the lesser Communities, which relates to the several Members of that particular Body.

1. Supreme, which is of Three Sorts, according to the Three known Constitutions.

2. Subordinate, which lies between Persons that are both Superiors and Inferiors, when considered in different Respects, and as Places and Persons may alter the Case ; and this is a Power of

1. Conjugal, between the Husband and Wife ; This Relation is the Source and Root of all Humane Society.

2. Paternal, between Parents and Children ; This is truly and properly Natural.

3. Herile, and that of two Sorts.
 1. Of Lords & their Slaves.
 2. Of Masters over their Servants.

4. That of Patrons and their Dependants, which is now out of Date, and scarce any where in use.

1. Monarchy, or a Government vested in one single Person.

2. Aristocracy, or that which is administred by a Few of the best Quality.

3. Democracy, where the whole Body of the People have some Share in it.

1. Particular Lords in their several Jurisdctions, and admitting of many Degrees.

2. Officers and Magistrates deputed by the Supreme Power, of which there is likewise great Variety.

2.
*Supreme
 Power Sub-
 divided.*

This *Publick Power*, whether the Supreme, or the Subordinate, admits of several Subdivisions, very necessary to be attended to. The Supreme, which, as I observ'd, is of Three Sorts, according to the different Constitutions, and Methods of Government, executes and exerts it self in as many different Ways, and each of these according to the different Temper and Management, hath been distinguish'd by the Titles of *Kingly*, *Arbitrary*, and *Tyrannical*. *Kingly*, is when the Supreme Power (be it lodged in one, or in more Hands) is it self strictly obedient to the Laws of Nature, and preserves and protects it Subjects, in their Natural Liberties, and Civil Rights. *All Power, in general, belongs to Kings, particular Properties to Private Men. The King is Universal Lord, and hath a Right Paramount ; Others have the Right of Lordship and Possession.* *Arbitrary Government* is, when the Sovereign is Lord of Men's Persons and Estates by Right of Conquest ; and the Subjects are Govern'd without any regard to Claims, or Laws, or Rights, but in an absolute Way, as Lords use their Slaves. This is rather Bondage and Captivity ; *Subjection* is too gentle a Name for it ; where Lives are cut off, and Estates seiz'd, and rack'd, and taken away, at Pleasure. *Tyrannical Government* is, where the Sovereign despises and disregards all the Laws of Nature, and Original Rights of Mankind ; and so does not only make use of, but abuses the Persons and Possessions of the Subjects ; and this differs from the former Arbitrary Way, much after the same manner that a Robber differs from a Fair Enemy in the Field.

Now, Of these Three different Constitutions, the *Monarchical* ; but of the Three Tempers or Ways of Governing, the *Arbitrary* hath been observed to be the most Ancient, and best Calculated of any, for Grandeur, Continuance, and Splendor. Thus it

it was with the *Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian*, and, at present, that of *Æthiopia*, (the most Ancient of any) *Muscovy, Tartary, Turkey*, and *Peru*. But the best and most natural Estate is, that manner of Government which we call *Kingly*, according to our late Distinction of it. The Famous *Aristocracies* were that of the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore, and that of the *Venetians* and *States of Holland* at this Day. The *Democracies* were *Rome, Athens, Carthage*; but the Government of all These, as to its Temper and Method of Administration, was what we call *Kingly*.

The *Publick Power*, which is Subaltern, or Subordinate, is lodg'd in particular Lords, and These are of several Sorts and Degrees, according to their respective Tenures and Capacities. But the most considerable are Five. 3.
Of particular Lords.

1. *Lords Tributary*, who only owe Tribute, and nothing else.

2. *Feudatary Lords*, who hold their Lands in Fee.

3. *Simple Vassals*, who owe Fealty and Homage for their Fee: These Three may be Sovereign themselves too.

4. *Liege Vassals*, that besides Fealty and Homage owe Personal Suit and Service, and so cannot be truly Sovereign.

5. *Natural Subjects*, whether Vassals in Fee or in Cens, or in any other Tenure and Capacity; These owe Subjection and Obedience, and cannot be exempted from the Power of their Sovereign Lord, and yet are Lords themselves.

The *Publick Subordinate Power*, which consists in Offices under, and Proper Officers employ'd by, the Supreme Power, is of several Sorts; but may be reduc'd to Five Degrees, with regard to the Distinctions of *Honour* and *Power*, which belong to, or may direct us in the Consideration of them. 4.
Officers.

1. The First and lowest Sort is that of *Publick Executioners*; such as give the last Stroke, and finish upon Criminals what the Courts of Justice have awarded and begun. These, however necessary, have yet somewhat so shocking in their Employment, that it hath generally been look'd upon as Odious and Scandalous, and the Persons in that Office, not suffer'd, in many Places, to dwell within the City.

2. The Second are Men that are neither Honourable nor Dishonourable upon the Account of their Post, such as *Sergeants, Trumpeters*, and the like.

3. The Third Sort have Honour and Respect, indeed, by Vertue of their Office, but no Authority by way of Cognizance or Power; such are *Notaries, Receivers, Secretaries*, and the like.

4. The Fourth have not an empty Honour only, but Power and Cognizance, and yet not any Jurisdiction, properly so call'd; such are the *King's Counsel*, for Example; who may examine Publickly, but can determine or give final Issue to nothing.

5. The Last have Jurisdiction, properly so call'd, and, by Vertue of this, they have all the rest. And These only, in Strictness of Speech, are *Magistrates*; which may be distinguish'd several Ways, particularly into these Five Sorts, each of which is Two-fold.

1. Mayors, Senators, Judges.

Colonels, &c. Generals, Judges.

2. In Politicks or Civil Government.

In Military Matters.

3. In Questions and Cases of Property and Right.

In Criminal Cases, or Tryals of Offenders.

4. Offices Titular, Fix'd, and Hereditary.

Offices in Particular Commission.

5. Officers

5. Officers Perpetual, of which Nature it is fit, that there should be fewest, and Those only of the least Consequence.

Officers Temporal, or Removable, such as all of the Highest Importance ought to be.

Of the Conditions and Degrees of Men particularly, according to the foregoing Table.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

IT is necessary to observe upon this Occasion, that the several Divisions of this Table, and the Distinction of those Powers, and their respective Dependencies upon, and under, them, (beginning at those which are Private and Domestick) are mention'd here with no other Design, than to give a distinct View of the several States and Conditions of Men ; It being the Intention of this Present Book, only to know Man *in all his Capacities*. And therefore a great Part of what might be expected upon the Head of *Power and Subjection*, the Reader must be content to wait for, till we come to the Third and last Part of this Treatise : Where, under the Head of *Justice*, these several Chapters and Capacities will come under our Consideration again ; and the several Duties and Virtues required upon their Account will be specified and explained. But, before we enter upon any of them in particular, it may not be amiss to premise somewhat briefly, concerning *Command and Obedience* in general. These being the reciprocal Exercises of the Relations here mention'd. The Two Foundations and Principal Causes of all that Variety of Circumstances, in which Mankind have been already described.

C H A P. XLV.

Of Command and Obedience.

THESE, as I said, are the Ground-work, upon which all Humane Society is built ; And the many different Conditions, Professions, and Relations, that go to making it up, do all arise from, and depend upon, Them. These Two are *Relative Terms* ; they mutually regard, produce, preserve and support each other ; and are equally necessary in all Companies and Communities of Men ; but are, notwithstanding, liable to Envy and Opposition, Misrepresentation and Complaint ; All which are the natural and constant Effects, even of That, without which we are not able to subsist. The discontented Populace would reduce their Sovereign to the Condition of a Car-Man ; The Ambition of Monarchs would represent him greater than a God. In *Command* is imply'd Dignity, Difficulty (These Two commonly go together) Goodness, Ability, and all the Characters and Qualities of Grandeur.

The *Command* it self, that is, The Sufficiency, the Courage, the Authority, and other Qualifications of it, are deriv'd from above, and the Gift of God. * *Empire and Dominion are bestowed by the Divine Appointment, and there is no Power but of God* (says the Apostle to the same Purpose.) From whence it was that *Plato* said, God did not place some Men over others, that is, not Mere Men, and such as were of the Common Sort and Vul-

* Imperium non nisi divino fato datur. Rom. xiii. 1

gar Qualifications ; but the Persons whom he set apart, and exalted for Government, were such as exceeded others ; were more finished, eminent for some singular Virtue, and distinguishing Gift of Heaven ; in short, were somewhat more than Men, and such as former Ages gave the Title of *Heroes* to.

Obedience is a Matter of Benefit and Advantage ; of Ease and Necessity ; the Obeying well, is of the Two, more conducive to the Publick Peace, and Safety, than the Commanding wisely ; and the Consequences of withstanding and refusing the Commands of our Superiors, or the complying with them Imperfectly and Negligently, are much more Dangerous and Destructive, than Ill and Improper Commands Themselves are, or want of Skill to Govern. Just as in the Case of a Married Life, the Husband and Wife are equally obliged to Constancy of Affection and Fidelity to the Bed ; and the Words in which they solemnly engage for This, are the very Same for both Parties ; the same Ceremonies and Formalities to signify and confirm it ; but yet the Consequences are by no means equal, but the Mischiefs of Disloyalty are incomparably More, and Greater in an Adulterous Wife, than an Adulterous Husband : So likewise *Commanding* and *Obeying* are equally Duties, and necessary in all manner of Societies which unite Men to one another ; but yet the Disobedience of the Subject draws much greater Inconveniences after it, than the Unskilfulness or the real Faults of the Governor. Several States and Kingdoms have held out a long Course, and been reasonably Prosperous and Flourishing, under, not only Ignorant, but very wicked Princes and Magistrates, by the mere Force of the Unity, and Compliance, and ready Obedience of the Subjects. Which agrees well with the Answer made by a Wise Man to that Question, “ How

“ How it came to pass, that the Republick of
 “ *Sparta* was so remarkably Flourishing? And
 “ whether it proceeded from the Wisdom and
 “ good Conduct of their Governours? Nay, (said
 “ he) I impute it not to their Princes Command-
 “ ing well, but to the Subjects Obeying well.
 But when the People break their Yoak, or throw
 it off, and refuse Obedience, there is no Remedy
 but such a State must be ruin’d, and fall to the
 Ground.

C H A P. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

- I. **N**otwithstanding the State of *Marriage* be an-
 tecedent to any other, of the greatest An-
 tiquity, and the highest Importance; The very
 Foundation and Fountain of all Humane Society,
 (for *Families* first, and then *Commonwealths* spring
 out of it; according to that Observation of *Cicero*,
The First Union and nearest Relation is between Man and
Wife; This is the Beginning of Cities, the Nursery and
first Plantation of all Publick Communities) yet it hath
 had the Ill-Fortune to be disesteem’d and run
 down by several Persons of considerable Wit and
 Character, who have traduc’d it, as a Condition
 beneath Men of Understanding, and drawn up
 several formal Objections against it, in particular
 These that follow.

* *Prima Societas in Conjugio est, quod principium Urbis, se-
 minarium Reipublicæ. Cic. de Offic. Lib. 1.*

First of all, They tell you, the Covenants and Obligations they enter into by it, are unreasonable and unjust; we may call it a *Band of Union*; but is no better than the *Chains and Fetters of a Captive*. For what Confinement can be more insupportable, than That by which a Man stakes himself down; and becomes a Slave as long as he lives, to Care and Trouble, and the Humours of another Person? For this is the Consequence, if the Couple are unsuccessful, and unsuitable in their Tempers; That there is no Remedy, but a Man must stand by his Bargain, be it never so bad, and continue wretched without any other possible Cure but Death. Now what can be more contrary to Equity and Justice, than that the Folly of one half Hour should poyson the whole Term of all his Years to come? That a Mistake in one's Choice, or perhaps a Trick, by which he was trapann'd into this Condition, but, to be sure, an act of Obedience many times to the Commands of a Parent, or Compliance with the Advice of a Friend; a submitting one's Own Judgment and Inclination to the Pleasure and Disposal of Others: What Reason (say They) is there that any of these Things shou'd engage a Man to perpetual Misery and Torment? Were not the other Noose about the Neck the wiser Choice of the Two? and to spend one's Days and Troubles immediately by leaping headlong from some Rock into the Sea, than thus to launch out into an Eternity of Pains; to have a Hell upon Earth; and always live and lie by a Storm of Jealousie and Ill-nature, of Rage and Madness, of Obstinacy, and Affectation, and intractable Perverseness, and other vile Qualities in which the Sex abounds? Hence it was the Saying of one Author, "That whoever first invented the Marriage-Knot, had contrived a very fair and colourable, but withal, a most effectual Expedient

2.

*Objections
against
Marriage.*

"ent

“ ent for taking a severe Revenge upon Mankind:
 “ A Snare or Net to catch Fools and Brutes in,
 “ and then put them to a long and lingring
 “ Death. And of another, “ That for a wise Man
 “ to marry a Fool, or a Woman of Sense a Cox-
 “ comb, was like tying the Living to the Dead,
 “ that so by the Extremity of Cold from the Car-
 “ kass, the Body might chill and languish, till at
 “ last it expire ; which is of all Capital Punish-
 “ ments the most barbarous, that ever Tyrants
 “ have been able to invent.

The Second Accusation imports, That *Marriage*
 corrupts and adulterates Generous and Great
 Minds, by softening and abating, nay utterly enfee-
 bling and dissolving their Life and Vigour, by the
 little Dalliances, and Flatterings, and Wheedles of a
 Person, of whom one is fond ; by Tendernefs for
 one's Children, Care and Management of Dome-
 stick Affairs, and Sollicitude to provide for, and
 raise one's Family in the World. What lamentable
 Instances of this Effeminacy are *Samson*, and *Solo-
mon*, and *Mark Anthony* ? whose Falls stand in Sto-
 ry, like so many noble Ruines, to put us in mind
 of that Enemy, with some Indignation, that un-
 dermin'd and demolish'd what Nature had made
 so strong. If then there must be Marrying, it is
 fit (say they) that This should be left to Fel-
 lows that have more Body than Soul ; let Them go
 on securely, being so well qualify'd, and having
 so little to hazard ; and the Cares and Burden
 of the World are indeed properest for Them ; for
 such mean and low Considerations are Employ-
 ments just of a Size with Their Capacities. But
 as for Those, whom Nature hath been so liberal
 to in another kind, and given them good Sense,
 and noble Souls, capable of greater and better
 Things, Is it not pity to shackle and bind Them
 down to the World and the Flesh, as you do
 Beasts

beasts to the Manger? Nay, even among Beasts, some Distinctions are made too; for Those among them that are most esteem'd for Service and Courage, (as among Dogs and Horses particularly) are kept up at a distance, and forbidden all Approaches of the other Sex; Others of less Value serving to breed upon very well. Accordingly among Mankind, Those that are devoted to the most Venerable and Holy Professions, the Service of the Altar, and a Recluse Life, both Men and Women; such whose Stations oblige them to be the most excellent Part of the World, the Flower and Ornament of Christian Religion, Clergy and Monastics are forbidden by the Church of *Rome* ever to Marry at all. And the Reason most certainly is This, that *Marriage* obstructs Wisdom and Virtue, calls off the Mind, and gives it too strong and too frequent a Diversion, clips its Wings, and checks its noblest Flights. For the Contemplation of High, and Heavenly, and Divine Objects, is by no means consistent with the Clutter, and Hurry, and sordid Cares of Family-concerns: Upon which Account it is that the Apostle, who commands *Continency* even in *Marriage*, hath preferr'd absolute *Celibacy* before it. *Marriage* perhaps may have the Advantage in Point of Profit and Convenience, but the Honour and the Virtue (they tell you) is confessedly on the other side.

Besides; It confounds Men's Measures, and defeats noble and pious Intentions and Undertakings. St. *Augustin* gives an Account to this purpose, That He and some other Friends of his, some whereof were married Men, having formed a Design of retiring from the Town, and all Conversation with the World, into some Solitude, that so they might have nothing to employ their Thoughts but the study of Wisdom and Virtue; their whole Scheme was immediately interrupted, and utterly quash'd,
by

by the Interposition of their *Wives*. And another wise Man hath given us his Opinion, "That if
 " Men could prevail with Themselves to give over
 " all Conversation with Women, Angels would
 " certainly visit and keep them Company.

Once more ; *Marriage* is a great Hindrance to Men's Improvement ; particularly it keeps them at home, and cuts them off from the Opportunities of Travelling, and conversing with Foreign Countries : which is really a great Accomplishment, and a mighty Convenience , to learn Wisdom one's self, and to teach it to others, and to communicate what we have seen and known, to those who want the same Opportunities. In short ; *Marriage* does not only cramp up, and depress great Parts, and great Souls, but it deprives the World of many noble Designs , Works of Munificence, and Charity, and Publick Good ; it renders a Man incapable of serving his Country, and attempting such Things, as He can give no entertainment to the Thoughts of, in the Embraces of a tender Wife, and his Little ones round about him. For These need and require the Care and Preservation of Himself ; and serve for an Excuse ; at least they cool his Courage, to Actions that are Brave, if at the same time they seem Desperate, or are manifestly Dangerous. And is it not a noble Sight now, to see a Man that is fit to be at the Helm, trifling away his Time at home, playing and telling Stories with his Wife and Children in the Chimney-corner ? Is it not Ten Thousand Pities, that One who is capable of Governing and Directing a World, should be entirely bury'd in Secresie, lost to the Publick, and taken up with the Concerns of a single Family ? Upon this Consideration it was , that a Great Man, when his Friends moved a Match to him, made answer, *That he was born to Command Men, and not*

one pretty little Toy of a Woman; to Advise and give Rules to Kings and Princes, and not to Boys and Girles.

To that Part of these Objections, which carry any serious Argument, (for a great deal of them is Raillery only) we may answer as follows ; ^{3.} *Answer to them.* That Humane Nature must be consider'd, as it really is; A State not capable of Absolute Perfection; nor was such a Life here ever intended for us, as we should have nothing in it to be found fault with, nothing that should cross, or give us cause to wish it otherwise. Our very Remedies must make us a little sick, even when they are promoting our Health and Recovery; and every Convenience carries its Abatement, and is clogg'd and incumbred with some Inconvenience inseparable from it. These are *Evils*, allow it, but they are *Necessary Evils*. And if the Case be not well in all Points, yet this is the best of it; for there is no other way possible to be devised for the preserving and propagating Mankind, but what would make the Matter infinitely worse, and be liable to More and Greater Evils. Some indeed, (as *Plato* in particular) would fain have rooted out these Thorns, and refin'd upon the Point, by inventing other Methods for the Continuance of the Species; but after all their Hammering and Polishing, those Conceits at last prov'd mere Castles in the Air; Things perfectly impracticable, and such as if once receiv'd could never have lasted; and besides, it appear'd evidently, that tho' they had been practis'd and approv'd, yet even These were loaded too with a great many Inconveniences, and sore Difficulties. The Truth is, Men create their Own Uneasiness, and make all the Hardship to Themselves; Their Vices and Intemperances, the Violence and the Contrariety of their Passions, are their Tormentors; and then they blame the State
in

in which they feel and suffer those Torments. But That is clear, and free from Guilt, and so is every Thing but *Man* himself, who turns every Thing against Himself, and knows not how to use any Condition as he ought, and to the best Advantage. But Those that are Philosophers indeed, will go a great deal farther ; They will tell you, These very Difficulties recommend *Marriage* the more, as rendring it a School of Virtue, an Apprenticeship to learn it, a daily and Domestick Exercise to perfect and render it familiar to us. And *Socrates*, that great Oracle of Wisdom, when People reproached him with the peevish and imperious Humour of his Wife, declar'd that it was an Advantage to him ; for by that means he learnt at home to behave himself with Constancy and Patience in all Accidents and Companies abroad ; and to make all the Uneasinesses of Fortune go down very glibly. But This, tho' it want not a great deal of good Sense at the Bottom, and may be very useful to Men of good Dispositions, and Capacity enough to serve themselves of it, is yet such an Argument as I do not expect many Converts from. Admitting then, that They who continue single do best consult their Own private Ease and Satisfaction : Admit it better and more prudent thus to reserve one's self for Piety and Devotion, and eminent Degrees of Virtue, by preventing all those Avocations and Interruptions, which the Cares of a Married Life unavoidably expose us to. (And it is in this Sense, and for these Purposes only, that *St. Paul* prefers a State of *Celibacy*, which those that make use of, and pretend to be directed by his Authority, would do well to consider) Yet after all, with what Face can any Christian speak in disparagement of *Marriage*, who remembers at all, what the *Faith* he makes profession of, hath taught him to believe in Honour of it ?

it ? For, when all is done, these are unanswerable, and they ought to be esteem'd very Sacred Arguments, such as should command our highest Veneration and Respect, That it is of God's own Institution, That it was his first Ordinance, That he appointed it in Paradise, in a State of Innocence and Perfection, when Humane Nature was in all its Glory. These are Four weighty Considerations, and ought to recommend, at least, to deliver it from diminishing Reflections, when they are not capable of a sober Reply. After this we find, that the Son of God himself was pleas'd to honour and approve it with his Presence, to work his first Miracle in favour of it, and the Persons engag'd in it ; nay, that he hath condescended to make use of This, as a Figure of that most Sacred and Inviolable Union betwixt Him and his Church ; and upon that Account, given it the Privilege of being styl'd *Ephes. v. a Mystery, a Great and Divine Mystery.*

It must be acknowledg'd, indeed, that *Marriage* ^{4.} is by no means an indifferent Thing : It admits of ^{*It is a*} no Middle State, but is apt to run into Extremes, ^{*Great*} and is generally the greatest Happiness, or the great- ^{*Good, or a*} est Calamity of Humane Life ; a State of much ^{*Great Evil.*} Tranquillity, or of insupportable Trouble ; a Paradise or a Hell. If well and wisely undertaken, it is full of Sweetness and Pleasure ; if ill and unsuccessfully, it is a grievous Burden, a bitter, and fatal, and most painful Yoke. For this Covenant and Coming together, does above any other Instance make good the Truth of that Proverb, That * *Men are either Gods or Brutes to one another.*

* Homo Homini aut Deus aut Lupus.

5.
When Good,
it is ex-
ceedingly
so.

Marriage is a Work compos'd of a great many Parts, and a great many Qualities must meet together, to render it Beautiful and Uniform. Abundance of Considerations are necessary in order to it, more than respect merely the Persons of those to be concern'd in it. For tho' it be commonly said, *Men marry for themselves alone*, yet there ought to be great regard had to Posterity ; the Family we go into, the Alliances we make, the Circumstances and Condition of the People are of great weight. And These and other Respects must be carefully attend-ed to : But above all, the Temper and the Vir-tues, which ought to be the principal Objects and Motives of our Affection. The want of proceed-ing in this manner, is the very reason why we see so few happy Matches. And the extreme Scarcity of such, is a sign that Marriage is highly valuable: For it is a Fate common to all great Posts, that they are difficult, and very seldom discharg'd as they ought to be. Kingly Power and Government is beset with Cares and Difficulties, and very few that aspire to it, are strictly Virtuous and Success-ful in the Administration. But the true Ground of failing so frequently in this Point, is to be fetch'd from the Licentiousness and Debauchery, the Unruly Passions and Exorbitant Humours of Mankind, and not from any thing in the State and Institution it self. From hence it is, that we find experimentally, Such as are of good, and quiet, and virtuous Dispositions, plain and mean Persons taste more of the Comforts, and enjoy themselves more in it, than others of higher Quality and Attainments. Sensual Desires, and the Delights of the World, have taken less hold of such ; they are less nice and curious, and have not so much lei-sure to teaze and torment themselves. Men that are debauch'd, and love to live at large, corrupt in their Manners, troublesome in their Conversa-tion,

tion, whimsical, and particular in their Humours, are not cut out for this Condition of Life, nor can ever expect to be tolerably easy under it.

Marriage is a Wise and Prudent Bargain, a Holy and Inviolable League, an Honourable Agreement. If this Knot be well ty'd, there is not in the whole World any thing more beautiful, more lovely, more desirable: It is a sweet and noble Society, full of Constancy and mutual Trust; full of infinite Good Offices and reciprocal Obligations; most excellent in their own Nature, most useful to the Parties themselves, and of general Service and Benefit to Mankind. This is a Conversation, Amorous, not of Love and Sensual Delight, but of chaste Affection and entire Friendship. For *Love* in these Two Senses is a very different Thing, and the One as distant from the Other, as the feverish and diseased Heat of a Sick Man is from the natural Warmth of a good Temper and healthful Constitution. *Marriage* challenges to it self Affection and Advantage, Justice and Honour, Constancy and Pleasure. Call its Fruitions flat and insipid if you please, but yet they are solid and substantial, agreeable and universal: They must needs be so indeed, because they are lawful and innocent; free from the Censure of Others, and the Reproaches of one's Own Mind. What the World calls *Love*, aims at nothing but Delight; it hath perhaps somewhat of Sprightliness, and is of a quicker and more poignant Relish; but this cannot hold long, and we plainly see it cannot, by so few Matches succeeding well, where Beauty and Amorous Desires were at the bottom of them: There must be something more solid to make us happy. A Building that is to stand for our whole Lives, ought to be set upon firmer Foundations; and these Engagements are serious Matters, such

6.
A general
Description
of it.

as deserve, and it is Pity but they should have our utmost Discretion employ'd upon them. That hot Love bubbles and boils in our Breasts for a while, but it is worth nothing, and cannot continue; and therefore it very often happens, that these Affairs are very fortunately manag'd by a Third Hand.

7.
Another
more par-
ticular one.

This Description is only Summary, and in general Terms. But, that the Case may be more perfectly and particularly understood, it is fit we take Notice, that there are Two Things Essential and absolutely Necessary to this State of Life, which, however contrary and inconsistent they may at First Sight appear, are yet in Reality no such Matter. These are *Equality* and *Inequality*; the Former concerns them as Friends, and Companions, and upon the Level; the Other, as a Superiour and an Inferiour. The *Equality* consists in that entire Freedom, and unreserved Communication, whereby they ought to have all Things in common; their Souls, Inclinations, Wills, Bodies, Goods, are mutually from thenceforward made over; and neither of them hath any longer a peculiar and distinct Propriety exclusive of the other. This, in some Places is carry'd a great deal farther, and extends to Life and Death too; insomuch, that as soon as the Husband is dead, the Wife is oblig'd to follow him without Delay. There are some Countries, where the Publick and National Laws require them to do so; and they are oftentimes so zealous in their Obedience, that where Polygamy is indulged, if a Man leaves several Wives behind him, they try for it publickly, and enter up their Claims, which of them shall obtain the Honour and Privilege of sleeping with their Spouse (that is the Expression they soften it by) and upon this Occasion, each urges in her own behalf, that she was the best lov'd Wife, or had the last Kiss of him, or brought

brought him Children, or the like, so to gain the Preference to themselves.

*Th' Ambitious Rivals eagerly pursue
Death, as their Crown to Love and Virtue due ;
Prefer their Claims, and glory in Success,
Their Lords first Nuptials are courted less :
Approach his Pile with Pomp, in Triumph burn,
And mingle Ashes in one Common Urn.*

In other Places, where no Laws enjoyn'd any such Thing, it hath been resolv'd and practis'd, by mutual Stipulation and voluntary Agreement, made privately between the Parties themselves, which was the Case of *Mark Anthony* and *Cleopatra*. But omitting this, which, in truth, is a wicked, barbarous and unreasonable Custom, The Equality which is, and ought to be, between Man and Wife, extends it self to the Administration of Affairs, and Inspection over the Family in common ; from whence the Wife hath very justly the Title of Lady or Mistress of the House and Servants ; as well as the Husband that of Master and Lord over them. And this joint Authority of Theirs over their own Private Family is a Picture in Little of that Form of Publick Government, which is term'd an *Aristocracy*.

That Distinction of Superiour and Inferiour, which makes the *Inequality*, consists in this. That the Husband hath a Power and Authority over his Wife, and the Wife is plac'd in Subjection to her Husband. The Laws and Governments of all Nations throughout the World agree in this Preeminence;

8.

Inequality.

Et certamen habent lethi, quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori :
Ardent Victrices, & flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntq; suis Ora perusta viris.

but the Nature and the Degrees of it are not every where the same: For These differ in Proportion, as the Laws and Customs of the Place differ. Thus far the Consent is Universal; That the Woman, how noble soever her Birth and Family, how great soever her Fortunes, or any other Personal Advantages, is not upon any Consideration exempted from Subjection to her Husband. This *Superiority* and *Inferiority* may well be general, and be the Opinion of All, when it is so plainly the Condition of All. For, in truth, it is the Work of Nature, and founded upon that Strength, and Sufficiency, and Majesty of the One Sex, and the Weakness, and Softness, and Incapacities of the Other, which prove it not equally qualify'd, nor ever design'd for Government. But there are many other Arguments besides, which Divines fetch from Scripture upon this Occasion, and prove the Point indeed substantially by Them. For *Revelation* here hath back'd and enforc'd the Dictates of *Reason*, by telling us expressly, that *Man* was made first; that he was made by God alone, and entirely by Him, without any Creature of a like Form contributing any thing towards his Being. That he was created on purpose for the Pleasure and Glory of God, his Head; That he was made after the Divine Image and Likeness; a Copy of the Great Original above, and perfect in his Kind: For Nature always begins with something in its just Perfection: Whereas *Woman* was created in the Second Place; and not so properly Created as Formed; made after *Man*; taken out of his Substance; * Fashioned according to that Pattern, and so His Image, and only the Co-

* See 1 Corinth. xi. 7. 8. *The Man is the Image and Similitude of God; but the Woman is the Similitude of the Man.* So εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις ought to be render'd in the Sense of ὁμοίωσις similis sum, not Glory, as we read it, which is foreign to the rest of the Words, and the whole Scope of that Argument.

py of a Copy; made occasionally, and for particular Uses, to be a Help, and a Second to the Man; who is himself the Principal and Head, and therefore She is upon all these Accounts *Imperfect*. Thus we may argue from the Order of Nature; But the Thing is confirmed yet more by the Relation given us of the *Corruption* and *Fall of Man*. For the *Woman* was first in the Transgression; and sinned of her own Head; *Man* came in afterwards, and by her Instigation. The *Woman* therefore, who was last in Good, in order of Nature, and Occasional only; but foremost in Evil, and the Occasion of That to *Man*, is most justly put in Subjection to Him, who was before Her in the Good, and after in the Evil.

This *Conjugal Superiority* and Power hath been very differently restrain'd or enlarg'd. In some Places, where the Paternal Authority hath been so, This hath likewise extended to Capital Punishment, and made the Husband Judge and Disposer of Life and Death. Thus it was with the *Romans* particularly: For the Laws of *Romulus* gave a Man Power to kill his Wife in Four Cases, (viz.) *Adultery*, *Putting False Children upon him*, *False Keys*, and *Drinking of Wine*. Thus *Polybius* tells us, that the *Greeks*; and *Cæsar* says, that the *Old Gauls* gave Husbands a Power of Life and Death. In Other Parts, and in these already mention'd, since those Times, their Power hath been brought into a narrower Compass. But almost every where it is taken for granted, that the *Authority* of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife, implies thus much: A right to direct and controul the Actions, to confirm or disannul the Resolutions and Vows of the Wife; to correct her, when she does amiss, by Reproofs and Confinement; for (*Blows* are below a Man of Honour to give, and not fit for a Woman to receive) and the Wife is obliged to conform to

9.

The Power
of the Husband.Dionys.
Halic. l. 2.

Tacit.

the Condition, to follow the Quality, the Country, the Family, the Dwelling, and the Degree of her Husband ; to bear him Company wheresoever he goes, in Journeys and Voyages, in Banishment and in Prison, in Flight and Necessity ; and, if he be reduc'd to that hard Fortune, to wander about, and to beg with him. Some celebrated Examples of this kind in Story are, *Sulpitia*, who attended her Husband *Lentulus*, when he was proscribed, and an Exile in *Scicily*. *Erithrea*, who went along with her Husband *Phalaris* into Banishment. *Ipsicrate*, the Wife of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, who kept her Husband Company, when he turn'd Vagabond, after his Defeat by *Pompey*. Some add, that they are bound to follow them into the Wars, and Foreign Countries, when they are sent abroad upon Expeditions, or go under any Publick Character. The *Wife* cannot sue, or be sued, in Matters of Right and Property ; all Actions lie against the *Husband*, and are to be commenced in His Name ; and if any thing of this kind be any where done, it must be with the Leave and Authority of her Husband, or by particular Appointment of the Judge, if the Husband shall decline or refuse it ; neither can she, without express Permission from the Magistrate, appeal from, or be a Party in any Cause against her Husband.

10.
Different
Laws about it.

Marriage is not every where alike, nor under the same Limitations ; the Laws and Rules concerning it are very different. In some Countries there is a greater Latitude, and more Liberties indulg'd, in Others less. The Christian Religion, which is by much the strictest of any, hath made it very close and strait. It leaves nothing at large, and in our own Choice, but the first Entrance into this Engagement. When once that is over, a Man's Will is made over too, and convey'd away ; for the Covenant is subject to no Dissolution, and we

we must abide by it, whether we are contented with our Terms, or not. Other Nations and Religions, have contrived to make it more Easie, and Free, and Fruitful, by allowing and practising *Polygamy* and *Divorce*; a Liberty of taking Wives and dismissing them again; and they speak hardly of Christianity for abridging Men in these Two Particulars, as if it did great Prejudice to Affection and Multiplication by these Restraints, which are the Two great Ends of Marriage: For Friendship, they pretend, is an Enemy to all manner of Compulsion and Necessity; and cannot consist with it; but is much more improved, and better maintain'd, by leaving Men free, and at large to dispose of Themselves. And Multiplication is promoted by the Female Sex, as Nature shews us abundantly in that one Instance of Wolves, who are so extremely Fruitful in the Production of their Whelps, even to the Number of Twelve, or Thirteen at a time; and in this exceed other Animals of Service and common Use very much, so many of which are kill'd every Day; and so few Wolves; and yet there are notwithstanding fewer of the Breed, Breeders, because fewer She-Wolves, than of any other Species. For, as I said, the true Reason is, because in all those Numerous Litters, there is commonly but one Bitch-Wolf, which for the most Part signifies little, and bears very rarely; the Generation being hindred by the vast Numbers and promiscuous Mixtures of the Males; and so, the much greater part of them die, without ever propagating their Kind at all, for want of a sufficient Proportion of Females, to do it by successfully. It is also manifest, what Advantages of this Nature *Polygamy* produces, by the vast Increase of those Countries where it is allowed; The *Jews*, *Mahometans*, and other Barbarous Nations, (as all their Histories inform us) very usually bringing Armies into the

Of Polygamy and Divorce.

the Field, of Three or Four Hundred Thousand fighting Men. Now the Christian Religion, on the contrary, allows but One to One, and obliges the Parties to continue thus together; though Either, nay sometimes Both, of them be Barren; which yet perhaps, if allowed to change, might leave a numerous Posterity behind them. But, supposing the very best of the Case, all their Increase must depend upon the Production of One single Woman. And lastly, they reflect upon Christianity, as the occasion of infinite Excesses, Debaucheries, and Adulteries, by this too severe Constraint.

But the true and sufficient Answer to all these Objections is, That the *Christian Religion* does not consider Marriage upon such Respects as are purely Humane, and tend to the Gratification of Natural Appetites, or promote the Temporal Good of Men: It takes quite another Prospect of the Thing, and hath Reasons peculiar to it self, sublime, and noble, and infinitely greater, (as hath been hinted already.) Besides, common Experience demonstrates, that in much the greatest part of Marry'd Persons, what they complain of as Confinement and Constraint, does by no means cool and destroy, but promote and heighten the Affection, and render it more dear and strong, by keeping it more entire and unbroken. Especially in Men of honest Principles, and good Dispositions, which easily accommodate their Humours, and make it their Care and Study to comply with the Tempers of the Person to whom they are thus inseparably united. And as for the Debaucheries and Flyings out alledg'd against us, the only Cause of Them is the Dissoluteness of Men's Manners; which a greater Liberty, though never so great, will never be able to correct, or put a Stop to. And accordingly we find, that Adulteries were every
whit

hit as rise in the midst of Polygamy and Divorce; Witness the whole Nation of the *Jews* in general, and the Example of *David* in particular, who became guilty of this Crime, notwithstanding the Multitude he had of *Wives* and *Concubines* of his own. On the contrary, These Vices were not known for a long while together in other Countries, where neither Polygamy nor Divorce were ever permitted; as in *Sparta*, for Instance, and at *Rome*, for a considerable time after the Founding of that City. It is therefore most foolish and unjust, to asperse *Religion*, and charge That with the Vices of Men, which allows and teaches nothing, but exquisite Purity and strict Continence.

This Liberty taken in *Polygamy*, (which hath so great an Appearance of Nature to alledge in its behalf) hath yet been very differently managed, according to the several Nations, and the Laws of those Communities, where it was allow'd and practis'd. In some Places, All that are Wives to the same Man, live alike, and in common. Their Degree and Quality, the Respect and Authority is equal, and so is the Condition and Title of their Children too. In other Places there is one particular Wife, who is the Principal, and a sort of Mistress above the rest; the Right of Inheritance is limited to the Children by Her; they engross all the Honours, and Possessions, and Pre-eminences of the Husband after his Death: As for the Others, they are lodg'd and maintain'd apart, treated very differently from the former: In some Places they are reputed *Lawful Wives*; in some they are only stiled *Concubines*; and their Children have no Pretension to Titles or Estates; but are provided for by such annual Pensions, or other precarious ways of Subsisting, as the Master of the Family thinks fit to allow them.

II.

Polygamy differently practised.

As

12.

Divorce
differently
practised.

As various have the Practice and the Customs of Men been with regard to *Divorce*: For with some, as particularly the *Hebrews*, and *Greeks*, and *Armenians*, they never oblige Themselves to alledge the particular Cause of Separation; nor are they allow'd to take a Wife to them a Second time, which they have once divorc'd; So far from it, that they are permitted to Marry again to others. But now in the *Mahometan Law*, Separation must be appointed by a Judge, and after Legal Process, (except it be done by the free Consent of both Parties) and the Crimes alledg'd against the Woman must be some of so high a Nature, as strike directly at the Root of this Institution, and are destructive and inconsistent with the State of Marriage, or some of the principal Ends of it; such as *Adultery*, *Barrenness*, *Incongruity of Humours*, *Attempts upon the Life of the other Party*; and, after such Separation made, it is lawful for them to be reconcil'd, and cohabit again, as oft as they think fit. The Former of these Methods seems much more prudent and convenient, that so there may be a closer Restraint both upon the Pride and Insolence of Wives, when they lye at Mercy, and may be cast off at Pleasure; and also upon the Humoursome and Peevish Husbands, who will be more apt to check and moderate their Resentments, when there is no Return, nothing to be got by repenting, after once Matters have flown so high, as to provoke and effect a Separation. The Second, which proceeds in a Method of Justice, brings the Parties upon the Publick Stage, exposes their Faults and Follies to the World, cuts them out from Second Marriages; and discovers a great many things, which were much better kept conceal'd. And, in case the Allegation be not fully prov'd; and so they continue oblig'd to cohabit still, after all this mutual Complaining and Disgrace, What a Temptation is here to Poysoning or Murder,

der, to get rid that way of a Partner of the Bed, which in Course of Law cannot be remov'd? And many of these Villanies, no doubt, have been committed, of which the World never had the least Knowledge or Suspicion. As at *Rome* particularly, before Divorce came in use, a Woman who was apprehended for Poysoning her Husband, impeached other Wives, whom she knew to have been guilty of the same Fact; and They again others, till at last Threescore and Ten were all Attainted and Executed for the same Fault, of whom People had not the least Jealousie, till this Discovery was made. But that which seems the worst of all in the Laws relating to a Married Life, is, that *Adultery* is scarce any where punish'd with *Death*; and all that can be done in that Case, is only *Divorce*, and ceasing to cohabit; Which was an Ordinance introduc'd by *Justinian*, One whom his Wife had in perfect Subjection: And no wonder if She made use of that Dominion, (as she really did) to get such Laws enacted, as made most for the Advantage of her own Sex. Now this leaves Men in perpetual danger of *Adultery*, tempts them to malicious Desires of one another's Death; the Offender that does the Injury is not made a sufficient Example, and the Innocent Person that receives the Wrong, hath no Reparation made for it.

Of the Duty of Married Persons, See Book III.

Chap. 12.

CHAP.

C H A P. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

I.
Paternal
Authority.

Dion. Ha-
licar. lib. 1.
Antiq.

Rom. l. in
Suif. ff.
de lib. &
posth.

There are several Sorts, and several Degrees of Authority and Power among Men; some Publick, and others Private; but not any of them more agreeable to Nature, not any more absolute and extensive, than that of a *Father* over his *Children*, (I choose to instance in the *Father* rather than the *Mother*, because she being herself in a State of Subjection to her Husband, cannot so properly be said to have her Children under her Jurisdiction.) But even this Paternal Authority hath not been at all Times, and in all Parts of the World equal and alike. In some Ages and Places, and indeed of Old almost every where, it was universal, and without restraint: The Life and Death, Estates and Goods, the Liberty and Honour, the Actions and Behaviour of Children was entirely at Their Will; They sued and were sued for them; They disposed of them in Marriage; the Labours of the Children redounded to the Parents Profit; nay, They themselves were a kind of *Commodity*; for among the *Romans* we find this Article, in that which was call'd *Romulus*'s Law; * *The Right of Parents over Children shall be entire and unlimited; they shall have Power to abdicate and banish, to sell, and to put them to death.* Only it is to be observ'd, That all Children under Three Years old, were excepted out of this Condition, because they

* *Parentum in Liberos omne Jus esto, relegandi, vendendi, occidendi.*

could not be capable of offending in Word or Deed, nor to give any just Provocation for such hard Usage. This Law was afterwards confirm'd and renew'd, by the Law of the *Twelve Tables*; which allow'd Parents to sell their Children Three times: And the *Persians*, as *Aristotle* tells us, the *Antient Gauls*, as *Cæsar* and *Prosper* agree; the *Muscovites* and *Tartars*, might do it Four times. There want not some probable Reasons to persuade us, that this Power had some Foundation, or Countenance at least, in the *Law of Nature*; and that Instance of *Abraham* undertaking to slay his Son, hath been made use of, as an Argument to this purpose: For had This been a Thing against his Duty; and such as the *Authority* of a Father could in no case extend to, he would not (they tell you) ever have consented to it; nor have believed, that this Command had proceeded from God, but rather have imputed it to some Delusion upon his own Mind, if it had been no way reconcilable with Nature, the Laws of which, God had established in the Beginning, and could not be thought so to contradict Himself, as by any particular Order, to appoint a thing altogether inconsistent with his own General Institution before. And accordingly it is observable, that *Isaac* never went about to make any Resistance, nor pleaded his own Innocency in Bar to what his Father went about to do; as knowing that he only exerted the rightful Power he had over him. What Force there is in this Argument, I shall not take upon me to determine. It is sufficient for my present Purpose to observe, That allowing all this, yet it does not in any degree take off from the Commendation due to *Abraham's* Faith; for he does not pretend to Sacrifice his Son by Vertue of any such *Inherent Right* over him, nor upon any Provocation, or Misdemeanour, which *Isaac* had given him occasion

Aul. Gel.
lib. 20.
Aristot.
Ethic.
lib. 8.
Cæsar,
lib. 6. de
Bell. Gall.
Prosper
Aquit.
in Epist.
Sigism.

Diodor.

on to resent or punish ; but purely in obedience to the Command of Almighty God. The Case does not seem to differ much under the Law of *Moses* ; allowing only for some Circumstances, as to the manner of exercising this Authority, which will be taken notice of by and by. Of This, and no less Extent the *Paternal Power* seems to have been formerly in the greatest Part of the World, and so to have continu'd till the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. Among the *Greeks* indeed, and the *Egyptians*, it does not seem to have been altogether so absolute ; but even There, if a Father happened to kill his Son unjustly, and without Provocation, the Punishment inflicted for such Barbarity was no other than being shut up with the dead Body for Three Days together.

2.

The Reasons and Effects of it.

Now the Reasons, and the Effects of so great and unlimited a Power being allow'd to Fathers over their Children, (which no doubt was a great Advantage for the Advancement of Virtue, the Improvement of Manners and Education, the restraining, preventing, and chastising Extravagance and Vice, and of great good Consequence to the Publick too) seem to have been such as These.

- I. First, The containing Children in their Duty, begetting and preserving a due Awe and Reverence in their Minds.
- II. Then a Regard to several Vices and Enormities, which, though very grievous in Themselves, would yet pass unpunish'd, to the great Prejudice of the Publick, if they could be taken cognizance of, and animadverted upon by no other Ways and Persons, but Legal Process, and the Sentence of the Magistrate ; for abundance of These must needs escape such Censure, partly because they would be Domestick and Private, and partly because there would be no Body to inform and prosecute. The Parents Themselves were not likely

likely to be so officious ; the nearness of the Relation would render it odious, and the Interest of their own Family would restrain them from publishing their own Shame. Or, if they could be suppos'd to bring all they knew of this kind upon the open Stage, yet we know there are many Vices, and Insolences, and Disorders, which the Laws and Justice of Nations are not provided with Punishments for. To all which we may add, that there are many Family-Quarrels between Fathers and Children, Brothers and Sisters, upon the account of dividing Estates and Goods, or several other Things, which, tho' fit to be canvass'd and corrected within a Man's own Walls, would by no means do well to be rip'd up, and expos'd to the World ; and for These, as the *Paternal Authority* is necessary, so it is sufficient to compose and quiet all Parties, and put an End to Differences, that concern single Families only. And it was reasonable for the Law to suppose, that no Father would make ill use of this Power ; that Men might very safely be entrusted with it, because of that very tender Affection which Nature inspires all Parents with, such as seems altogether inconsistent with Cruelty, toward their own Off-spring : And this we see the Effect of daily, in the frequent Intercessions made by Fathers, for the releasing or mitigating those Publick Punishments, which they cannot but be sensible are most justly inflicted ; there being no greater Torment to any Parent, than to see his Children under Pain or Disgrace. And where these absolute Prerogatives were allow'd, we meet with very few Instances of the exerting their Power, and going to the Extremity of it, without Offences very heinous indeed ; so that, in truth, if we regard the Practice, and compare that with the Power it self, we shall have reason to look upon it as a useful Terror, a

Bugbear to keep Children in awe, and fright them into Obedience, rather than any Stretch of Rigour, that was actual, and in good earnest.

3.
Its Decay.

Lib. 1. de
Clem.

Salust. in
Bell. Ca-
talin.
Valer.
Maxim.

L. inaudi-
tum ad
leg. Corn.
F. 1. in
fuis de l.
& posth.
l. 3. Cod.
de pa. po-
test.

Now this Paternal Authority was gradually lost, and fell to the Ground as it were of it self, (for the Decay of it is, in truth, to be attributed to Disuse, more than to any Law expressly repealing it, or enacting the contrary) and it began most remarkably to decline, when the *Roman* Emperors came to the Government: For from the Time of *Augustus*, or quickly after, it sunk apace, and lost all its Vigour. And upon this Decay Children grew so stubborn and insolent against their Parents, that *Seneca* in his Address to *Nero*, says, their Own Eyes had seen more Parricides punish'd in Five Years then last past, than there had been for the Space of Seven hundred Years before, that is, from the First Foundation of *Rome* till that Time. Till then, if a Father at any time killed his Children, he was called to no Account, nor had any Punishment inflicted upon him for the Fact; as we may gather evidently by the Examples of *Fulvius* the Senator, who slew his Son for being engag'd in *Catiline's* Conspiracy; and several other Senators, who proceeded against their Sons, and condemn'd them to Death, by vertue of their own Domestick Power, such as *Cassius Tratius*; or sentenc'd them to perpetual Banishment, as *Manlius Torquatus* did his Son *Syllanus*. There were indeed some Laws afterwards, which appointed, that the Father should bring Informations against the Children that offended, and deliver them over to Publick Justice: And the Judge, in such Cases, was oblig'd to pronounce Sentence as the Father should direct; in which there are some Footsteps of Antiquity. And these Laws, in abridging the Power of the Fathers, proceeded very tenderly, and

and did not take it away entirely and openly, but with great Moderation, and by halves only. These later Ordinances have some Affinity to the Law of *Moses*, which order'd the stubborn and rebellious Son to be stoned, upon the Complaint of the Parents, without requiring any farther Proof of the Charge than their single Deposition; and provided the Presence and Concurrence of the Magistrate, not so much for Examination and Trial of the Cause, as to prevent the Privacy and Passion, which might attend Domestick Punishments, and so to render the thing more Publick, and the Vengeance more exemplary and full of Terror to others. And thus, even according to the *Mosaick* Institution, the *Paternal Authority* was more arbitrary and extensive, than it came to be since the Time of the *Roman* Emperors. But if we descend a little lower, and observe its Decrease under *Constantine the Great*, then under *Theodosius*, and at last under *Justinian*, we shall find it almost totally extinct. Hence it came to pass, that Children took upon them to decline, and peremptorily deny Obedience to their Parents; to refuse them a Part in their Possessions; nay, not to allow them so much as convenient Maintenance and Relief in their Necessities. Hence they had Confidence to enter Actions against them, and implead them in Courts of Judicature; and an indecent, a most scandalous Thing, in truth, it is, to observe how frequent such Suits have been. Some have been so wicked, or so mistaken, as to excuse Themselves from *Duty* upon Pretence of *Religion*; and dedicate That to God, which their Parents had a Right to; as we find our Blessed Saviour reproaches the *Jews* for doing; and the Manner he mentions it in, shews plainly, that this impious kind of Devotion was a Practice customary among them before his Time. Since that some have acted after their

Deut. xxi.

Matt. xv.

Examples, even in the Profession of Christianity ; and many have held it lawful to *kill a Father* in one's own Defence, or in case he became a Public Enemy to the State. But sure, if such Relations deserve Death, it ought to be inflicted by some other Hand ; and heretofore it was receiv'd as a general Maxim, and admits of scarce any Exception, * *That no Wickedness could be committed by a Father, the Heinousness whereof would justify Parricide ; to kill a Father is wicked, and no Wickedness can be reasonable.*

Now the Generality of the World do not seem duly sensible of how mischievous Consequence to Mankind, this Abatement and Abolition of the *Paternal Authority* hath prov'd. The Governments, under which it was kept up, and vigorously exerted, have flourish'd, and contain'd their Subjects in strict Duty. If upon any Occasion it had been found by Experience too sharp and exorbitant, prudent Care might have been taken to regulate and bring it under convenient Restraints. But utterly to disannul and destroy it, is by no means agreeable to Decency or Virtue, and least of all to the Advantage of the Publick. For when once the Reins are let loose, and Countenance is given to Disobedience in Private Families, it quickly grows to a general Spirit of Faction, and Disorder, and Ungovernable Insolence ; and the casting off the Yoke of the Natural Parents, is a bold and dangerous Step toward Rebellion against the Civil. The Effect whereof hath been abundantly seen in the many Inconveniences which Governments have suffer'd upon the Relaxation or utter rescinding of this Authority ; whereby in the Event they only

* Nullum tantum scelus admitti potest à patre, quod parricidio sit vindicandum ; & nullum scelus rationem habet.

clip'd their own Wings, and encourag'd Enemies and Insurrections against Themselves, as was said just now.

The Reciprocal Duties of Parents and Children will be treated of Book III.
Chap. 14.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Of Lords and their Slaves ; Masters and Servants.

THE making use of *Slaves*, and the Power of I.
Lords or Masters over them, tho' it hath been *The Use of*
a Thing receiv'd and practis'd in all Places and all *Slaves uni-*
Ages of the World, (excepting that it was conside- *versal, but*
rably abated for about Four hundred Years, but *unnatural.*
now it hath since reviv'd and obtain'd again :) Yet
I cannot forbear looking upon it as a monstrous
Custom, and highly reproachful to Humane Na-
ture. Since Brutes have nothing of this kind among
Them ; nor do They either compel their Fellows
by Violence and Fraud, or voluntarily submit them-
selves to Captivity. This seems rather than to have
been dispens'd with, than approv'd by the Law of
Moses. But even this Indulgence, accommodated to
the Necessities of that People, and the Hardness
of their Hearts, was not so rigorous as the Practice
of other Places ; for neither was the Power so
absolute, nor the Slavery perpetual ; but the One
confin'd to Rules, and the other terminated with
the Seventh or Sabbatical Year. Christianity find-
ing the Usage universal, did not see fit to break
in upon this Constitution, but left its Profelytes at
liberty in this Particular, as it did in a Permission
F f 3 of

of serving and dwelling under Heathen and Idolatrous Princes and Masters. For This, and many other Things, could not be abolish'd and set aside at once ; but by giving some little Discountenance to them, Time hath worn them off gently, and by degrees.

2.

Several
sorts of
Slavery.

Slaves may be distinguish'd into Four several Kinds. 1. Such as are *Natural*, or born of Parents in that Condition. 2. Such as are *Slaves upon Force*, made so by Conquest, and the Rights of War. 3. *Adjudged Slaves*, such as are made and awarded to be such, either by way of Punishment for some Crime, or for the Satisfaction of some Debt, which gives the Creditors a Right to their Persons, and of employing them to their own Benefit and Service. This Slavery was limited among the *Jews* only to a certain Season, Seven Years at the most ; the *Sabbatical Year* put an End to it all ; but in other Countries it continu'd till the Debt was discharged. 4. *Voluntary Slaves*, or such as are of their own making, as those who throw Dice for it, or who sell their Liberty for a Sum of Money, as it hath been the Custom to do in *Germany* ; and is still in some Parts even of the Christian World ; or else such as freely surrender up themselves to the Service of another, and devote their Persons to perpetual Slavery : And thus we read in the Law the Antient *Jews* did, whose Ears were appointed to be bored with an Awl, to the Door of the House, in Token of perpetual Servitude ; and that they rather chose this Condition of Life, than to go free, when it was in their Power. This last sort of voluntary and chosen Captivity is, I confess, to Me, the most astonishing of all the rest ; and tho' all manner of *Slavery* seems to be an Incroachment and Violence upon Nature, yet sure no kind of it can be so unnatural, as that which a Man covets and brings upon Himself.

That

Tacit. de
mor. Ger.

Exod. xxi.
Deut. xv.

slightest and most insignificant Offence, as the breaking of a Glass, or the like ; but upon the least Suspicions, and most unaccountable Jealousies : Nay, sometimes merely to give Themselves Diversion ; as *Flaminius* did, who yet was a Person of more than ordinary Character, and reputed a very Good Man in his Time. It is notorious, that they were forc'd to enter the Lists, and combat and kill one another upon the Publick Theatres, for the Entertainment of the People. If the Master of the House were murdered under his own Roof, let who would be the Doer of it, yet all the *Slaves*, tho' perfectly innocent of the Thing, were sure to go to Pot. And accordingly we find, that when *Pedanius*, a *Roman*, was killed, notwithstanding they had certain Intelligence of the Murderer, yet by exprefs Decree of the Senate, Four Hundred poor Wretches, that were his Slaves, were put to Death, for no other reason, but their being so.

5.

Nor is it much less surprizing on the other hand, to take notice of the *Rebellions*, *Insurrections*, and *Barbarities* of *Slaves*, when they have made Head against their Lords, and gotten them into their Power. And That, not only in Cases of Treachery and Surprize ; as we read of one Tragical Night in the City of *Tyre* ; but sometimes in open Field, in regular Forces, and form'd Battles, by Sea and Land ; all which gave Occasion for the use of that Proverb, *That a Man hath as many Enemies as he hath Slaves*.

6.

How they
came to
lessen.

Now in proportion as the *Christian Religion* first, and afterwards the *Mahometan* got ground and increas'd, the Number of *Slaves* decreas'd, and the Terms of Servitude grew more easie and gentle. For the *Christians* first, and afterwards the *Mahometans*, who affected to follow the *Christians* Examples, made it a constant Practice and Rule,

Rule, to give all those Persons their Freedom, who became Profelytes to their Religion. And this prov'd a very great Invitation, and powerful Inducement, to convert and win Men over. In-
 o much that about the Year *Twelve Hundred*, there was scarce any such thing as a *Slave* left in the World ; except in such Places only where neither of these Two Persuasions had gain'd any Footing or Credit.

But then it is very remarkable withal, that in the same Proportions, as the Number of *Slaves* fell away and abated, that of Poor People, and Beg-
 gars, and Vagabonds multiply'd upon us. And the Reason is very obvious ; for Those Persons, who during the State of Slavery, wrought for their Patrons, and were maintain'd at Their Expence, when they were dismiss Their Families, lost their Table, at the same time they receiv'd their Li-
 berty ; and when they were thus turn'd loose in- to the World, to shift for Themselves, it was not easie for them to find Means of supporting their Families, which, by reason of the great Fruit-
 fulness of People in low Condition generally, were very numerous in Children ; and thus they grew overstock'd themselves, and filled the World with Poor.

7.

*And the
 Poor to in-
 crease.*

Want and extreme Necessity presently began to pinch these kind of People, and compelled them to return back again to Servitude in their own
 Defence. Thus they were content to enslave Them- selves, to truck and barter away their Liberty, to set their Labours to Sale, and let out their Per-
 sons for Hire ; meerly that they might secure to Themselves convenient Sustenance, and a quiet Retreat ; and lighten the Burden which the Increase of Children brought upon them. Besides this pres-
 sing Occasion, and the Servitude chosen upon it, the World hath pretty much relaps'd into the Using
 of

8.

*Return to
 Servitude.*

of *Slaves* again, by means of those continual Wars which both *Christians* and *Mahometans* are eternally engag'd in ; both against each other, and against the *Pagans* in the East and Western Countries particularly. And though the Example of the *Jews* be so far allow'd, as a good Precedent, that they have no *Slaves* of their own Brethren and Countrymen, yet of Strangers and Foreigners they have ; and These are still kept in Slavery, and under Constraint, notwithstanding they do come over to the Profession of their Master's Religion.

9. The Power and Authority of common Masters over their Servants is not at all domineering or extravagant, nor such as can in any degree be prejudicial to the Natural Liberty of Them who live under it. The utmost they can pretend to, is the chastizing and correcting them when they do amiss ; and in This they are oblig'd to proceed with Discretion, and not suffer their Severities to be unreasonable, and out of all Measure. But over those who are hired in as Workmen and Day-men, this Authority is still less ; There is only a Covenant for Labour, and Wages in Exchange ; but no Power, nor any Right of Correction, or Corporal Punishment lies against These from their Masters.

The Duty of Masters and Servants is treated of Book III. Chap. 15.

C H A P. XLIX.

Of Publick Government, Sovereign Power,
and Princes.

AFTER the Account already given of *Private* Power, the next Thing that falls under our Consideration, is the *Publick*, or that of the *State*. Now, the *State*, that is to say, *Government*, or a *Determinate Order*, and *Establishment*, for *Commanding* and *Obeying*, is the very *Pillar* and *Support* of *Humane Affairs*, the *Cement* that knits and keeps them *Fast* and *Strong*; the *Soul* that gives them *Life* and *Motion*, the *Band* of all *Society* which can never subsist without it; the *Vital Spirit* of this *Body Politick*, that enables Men, so many *Thousands* of Men, to breath as *One*, and compact all *Nature* together.

I.
*The Nature
and Necessi-
ty of Pub-
lick Go-
vernment.*

Now, notwithstanding the absolute Necessity and unspeakable Convenience This is of, for sustaining the *Universe*, yet is it, really, a very slippery and unsafe thing, extremely difficult to manage, and liable to infinite Changes and Dangers. * *The Governing of Men, and their Affairs, is a very hard Undertaking, a heavy Burden, and exposed to great variety of Chances.* It often declines and languishes; nay, sometimes falls to the Ground, by secret Misfortunes, and unseen Causes. And though its rising to a just Height, is Gradual and Slow, a Work of much Time, and great Pains and Prudence; yet the Ruins and Decays of it are frequently sudden

2.

* Arduum & subiectum fortunæ cuncta regendi onus.

and

and surprizing; and the Constitutions, which took up Ages to finish and build up, are broken and thrown down in a Moment. It is likewise exposed to the Hatred and Envy of all Degrees and Conditions. The High and the low watch it curiously, and are jealous of all its Proceedings, and set Themselves at Work perpetually, to endanger and undermine it. This Uneasiness, and Suspicion, and general Enmity, proceeds partly from the corrupt Manners and Dispositions of the Persons in whom the *Supreme Power* is vested, and partly from the Nature of the Power it self, of which you may take this following Description.

3.
What Sovereign
Power is.

Sovereignty, is properly a Perpetual and *Absolute Power*, subject to no Limitation, either of Time, or of Terms and Conditions. It consists in a Right of constituting and giving Laws to all in General, and to each Person under its Dominion in Particular; and that, without consulting or asking the Consent of such as are to be govern'd by them; and likewise in being above all Restraints, or having Laws imposed upon it self from any other Person whatsoever. "For to Impose, and Command a Duty, argues Superiority, and That which is *Sovereign*, can have no *Superiour*. And, as another expresses it. "It infers a Right Paramount of making Reservations and Exceptions from the usual Forms, (as the King in Courts of Equity corrects the Common Law:) For *Sovereignty*, in its highest and strictest Importance, implies the *Contrary to Subjection*, or the being bound by Humane Laws, either of others, or its own Appointment, so as not to repeal or alter them, as there shall be Occasion. For it is contrary to Nature, for all Men to give Law to Themselves, and to be absolutely commanded by Themselves, in Things that depend

pend upon their own Will. * No Obligation can
continue firm, none can lie there, where the Person that
ages, hath nothing but his own Will to bind him :
 and therefore Sovereign Power, properly so call'd,
 cannot have its Hands ty'd up by any other, whe-
 ther Living or Dead ; neither its Own, nor its Pre-
 cessor's Decrees, nor the received Laws of the
 Country can be Unalterable or Irreversible. This
 Power hath been compared by some to Fire, to the
 Lion, to a wild Beast, which it is very hard to
 tame, or make treatable ; it will not endure Con-
 tradiction, it will not be molested, or if it be, it is
 a Dangerous Enemy, a just and severe Avenger
 of them that have the Hardiness to provoke it.
Power (says one) is a Thing that seldom bears to
admonish'd or instructed, and is generally very impa-
rent of Contradiction or Reproof.

The Marks and Characters, which are proper
 to it, and by which it is distinguish'd from other
 sorts of Power, are, the giving Judgment, and
 pronouncing Definitive Sentences, whereby all con-
 tending Parties shall be concluded, and from whence
 there lies no Appeal. A full Authority to make
 Peace and War, Creating, and Depriving Magi-
 strates, and Officers ; granting Indulgences, and
 dispensing with the Rigour of the Laws upon par-
 ticular Hardships, and extraordinary Emergencies ;
 levying of Taxes ; coining and adjusting the Value
 of Money, ordering what shall be current in its
 Dominions, and at what Prices ; Receiving of Ho-
 mage and Acknowledgments from its Subjects, and
 Embassies from *Foreigners* ; Requiring Oaths of Fi-
 delity from the Persons under its Protection, and
 administering them in Controversies and Tryals of

* Nulla Obligatio consistere potest, quæ à voluntate promit-
 tentis statum capit.

† Potestas res est, quæ moneri docerique non vult, & castiga-
 tionem ægrè fert.

Right and Wrong. But all is reduc'd at last, and comprehended under the *Legislative Power*, the enacting such Laws as it shall think fit, and by Them binding the Consciences of Those who live within its Dominions. Some indeed have added Others, which are so small and trivial in Comparison, that they are scarce worth naming after the Former; such as the Admiralty, Rights of the Sea, Title to Wracks upon the Coast, Confiscation of Goods in Cases of Treason, Power to change the Language, the Ensigns of Government, and Title of Majesty.

5. *Greatness and Sovereignty* is infinitely coveted by almost All. But wherefore is it? Surely for no other Reason so much, as that the Outside is Gay and Glorious, Beautiful and Glittering; but the Inside is hid from common Observation. Every Body sees the Plenty, the Pomp, and the Advantages of a *Crown*, but few or none at a distance are acquainted with the Weight, the Cares, the Troubles, and the Dangers of it. It is True indeed, *To Command* is a Noble and a Divine Post; but it is as True, that it is an Anxious, a Cumbersome, and a Difficult One. Upon the same Account it is, that the Persons in that Dignity and Elevation, are esteem'd and reverenc'd much above the Rate of Common Men. And very Just it is they should be so, for this Opinion is of great Use to extort that Respect and Obedience from the People upon the due Payment whereof, all the Peace and Quiet of Societies depend. But if we take these great Persons apart from their Publick Character, and consider them as Men, we shall find them just of the same Size, and cast in the same Mould, with other common Men; nay, too often, of worse Dispositions, and not so liberally dealt with by Nature, as many of their Inferiours. We are apt to think that every Thing a *Prince* does, must
needs

eds proceed upon great and weighty Reasons,
 ecause all they do is in the Event of great and
 eneral Importance to Mankind ; but in truth
 e Matter is much otherwise, and They think,
 nd resolve, and act, just like One of Us ; For
 ature hath given Them the same Faculties, and
 oves them by the same Springs. The Provocation,
 hich would set Two private Neighbours to Scold-
 ng and Quarelling, makes a Publick War between
 Two States ; and what One of Us would whip his
 Child or his Page for, incenses a Monarch to
 chastise a Province, that hath offended him. Their
 Wills are as liable to *Levity* as Ours, but their
 Power and the Effect of what they will, is incom-
 parably greater. But still Nature is the same in
 the Fly, as in the Elephant, and both are actuated
 by the same Appetites and Passions. Nay, let me
 take leave to add, that, besides those Passions, and
 Defects, and Natural Qualifications, and Abate-
 ments, which they share in common with the least
 and meanest of their Servants and Adorers ; there
 are some Vices and Inconveniences in a manner
 peculiar to Them alone ; such as the Eminence of
 their Condition, and the vast Extent of their
 Power inspires them with a more than ordinary
 Tendency, with vehement and almost unavoida-
 ble Propensions to.

The Manners and Temper of Great Persons have
 been commonly observed by the Wisest and most
 Discerning Persons to be, *Invincible Pride*, and *Self-*
conceit. * *An abounding in their own Sense, which is*
Stiff, and Inflexible, incapable of Truth, and disdaining
better Advice. Licentiousness and Violence ; † which

6.

The Man-
 ners and
 Dispositi-
 ons of
 Great Per-
 sons.

* *Durus & veri insolens : Ad recta flecti regius non vult
 tumor.*

† *Id esse regni maximum pignus putant, si quicquid aliis non
 licet, solis licet.*

looks upon a Liberty of doing what no Body else may do, as the particular Distinction, and most Glorious Privilege of their Character. So that their Favourite Motto is, * *My Will is a Law.* Suspicion and Jealousie, for they are † *Naturally tender and fearful of their Power*; nay, fearful sometimes even of their own Children and nearest Relations; || *The next in Succession is always look'd upon with an Evil and Jealous Eye, by the Person in present Possession of the Throne*; so that any the least Genius of Government, or interesting themselves in Publick Affairs, is very unacceptable in the Sons of Princes; And hence it is that they are so often in Fears and mighty Consternations, for * *it is usual and natural to Kings, to live under continual Apprehensions.*

7.
Their Mi-
series and
Inconveni-
ences.

The Advantages, which Kings and Sovereign Princes have above Those of meaner Condition, seem indeed to be marvellous Great, and Glorious; but when nicely consider'd, they are in Truth but very Thin and Slight, and little more than mere Imagination. But, were they much above what really they are, it is certain they are dearly bought at the Expence of the many Weighty, Solid and Substantial Troubles and Inconveniences that constantly attend them. The Name and the Title of Sovereign, the Splendor and Formalities of a Court, and all the Pomp and Parade that draws our Eyes and Observation, carry a Beautiful and Desirable Appearance, such as raises our Wonder, and kindles our Wishes and Desires; but the Burden and the Inside of all this Shining Pageantry, is Hard and Knotty, Laborious and Painful. There is *Honour* in Abundance, but very little

* Quicquid libet, licet.

† Suae Naturae Potentiae anxii.

|| Suspectus semper invisusque; dominantibus quisquis proximus destinatur, adeo ut despliceant etiam civilia Filiorum ingenia.

* Ingenia Regum prona ad formidinem.

Joy or *Ease*; It is a Publick and an Honourable Servitude, an Illustrious Misery, a Wealthy Captivity. The Chains are of Gold, but still they are Chains. And it is worth our While to observe the Behaviour and the Reflections of *Augustus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Pertinax*, *Dioclesian*, upon this Occasion; and the wretched End of most of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and many Others of their Successors in the Empire. But, now in regard these seem Words of Course only, such as very few will give any Credit to, because they suffer Themselves to be imposed upon by a gay and deceitful Face of Power, I shall think it worth while to clear this Matter, by giving a distinct and particular Account of some Inconveniences and Miseries, with which the Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is constantly incumbered.

First, The mighty Difficulty of acting their Part well, and acquitting Themselves of so weighty a Charge. For if it be so very hard a Thing, as we find by sad Experience it is, to govern ones self well, what infinite Hardship must we in reason suppose there is, in governing a Multitude of People? It is certainly much more Easie and Pleasant to follow, than to lead; to have no more to do, than only to keep a plain beaten Road, than to beat out a Path for Others; to obey, than to direct and command; to answer for one's single self, than to be responsible for ones self and a great many more besides.

8.

*In the Dis-
charge of
their Office*

* *And thus 'tis better than proud Scepters sway,
To live a quiet Subject, and obey. Creech.*

To all This we may add, That it is highly Necessary for the Person, whose Duty it is to Command, to be more Excellent and Exemplary, than Them who are commanded by him; as that

* *Ut satius multo jam sit parere quietum
Quam regere imperio res velle——*

Lucret. lib. V.

G g

Great

Great Commander *Cyrus*, very truly observed. And this Difficulty we cannot be better made sensible of, by any Argument, than Matter of Fact; which proves to us Experimentally, how very few Persons, History makes mention of in this Character, who have in all Points been, what they ought to be. *Tacitus* says, that of all the *Roman* Emperors till that Time, *Vespasian* was the only true good Man; and another antient Author hath taken the Confidence to affirm, that the Names of all the good Princes that ever were, might be engraven within the Compass of a Ring.

9.
In their
Pleasures
and Actions
of their
Life.

The Second Difficulty may be fixed very reasonably upon their Pleasures and Delights, of which Men usually think, (but they think very much amiss) that They have a greater Share, and more perfect Enjoyment, than the rest of Mankind. For in truth their Condition, in this Respect, is infinitely Worse than that of Private Men. The Lustre and Eminence of great Persons gives them great Inconvenience in the Fruition, of what it furnishes them with Power and Opportunities for. They are too much exposed to Publick View, move openly and in check, and are perpetually watch'd, controul'd, and censur'd, even to their very Thoughts, which the World will always take a Liberty of guessing at, and censuring, tho' they are no competent Judges, nor can possibly have any Knowledge of the Matter. Besides this Restraint, there is likewise some Disadvantage in the very Easiness they feel of doing whatever their Inclination leads them to, and every Thing bending, and yielding to their Pleasure; for This takes away all that Relish and pleasing Sharpness, which is necessary to render a Thing Delightful; and Nothing is, or can be so to us, which hath no Mixture or Difficulty to recommend and heighten it. A Man that never gives himself time to be Dry, will never

never be sensible what Pleasure there is in quenching one's Thirst; and all Drinking will be flat and insipid to him. Fulness and Plenty is one of the most troublesome Things in the World, and, instead of helping forward, does but provoke us to nauseate our Happiness.

* *Gross easie Love does like gross Diet, pall;
In squeasie Stomachs Honey turns to Gall.* Dryden.

The greatest Interruption to our Enjoyments, and the most distasteful Thing that can happen to us, is *Abundance*: To be cloy'd is to lose All. And therefore we may say, that Princes are not capable of such a thing as Action; for this cannot be lively and vigorous without some Degree of Difficulty and Resistance: Other Men may be said to live, and move, and act, who meet with Obstruction and Opposition; but They who meet with none, may more truly be said to dream, or walk in their Sleep, or to glide along insensibly thro' the whole Course of their Lives.

The Third Particular, in which they find Themselves aggrieved above others, is in their *Marriage*. 10.
The Matches made by Persons of inferiour Quality are infinitely more free and easie; the effect of Choice, the result of Affection, more void of Constraint, and full of Satisfaction. One great Reason, no doubt, of this Difference is, that Common Men have greater Choice, and may find great Variety and Numbers equal with Themselves, to take a Wife out of; but Kings and Princes are but few; and therefore if They resolve to marry suitably to Themselves, there can be no great picking

* *Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tædia nobis
Vertitur, & Stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet.*

Ovid. Amor. L. 2. Eleg. 19.

and choosing in the Case. But the other Reason is, and indeed the more considerable of the Two, That private Persons have nothing farther to aim at beyond their own particular Concerns ; They consult their own Comfort and Convenience ; but Princes are often confin'd and ty'd up by publick Considerations. Their Marriages are vast Intrigues of State, and design'd to be instrumental in securing the Happiness and Peace of the World in general. Great Persons do not Marry for Themselves, but for the common Good of Nations and Kingdoms. And this is what they ought to be more in love with, and tender of, than of their Wife and Children. Upon this Account they are frequently obliged to hearken to Proposals where there is neither Affection nor Delight to invite them ; they often engage themselves to Persons, whom they are so far from being taken with, that sometimes they never know nor see them, till it is out of their Power to retreat. There is no such thing as *Love* or *Liking* between the Parties ; but the short of the Matter is, Such a great *Prince* marries such a great *Princess*, which, if he had been in another Capacity, he would never have chosen or consented to. But the Publick was concern'd, and is served by it ; and he is content to enslave Himself for his whole Life, because that Alliance was necessary to be contracted, for the strengthening his Interest, and the security of his Kingdoms ; and the mutual Benefit and Ease which Nations may receive by such a convenient Union.

II.

I may reckon this for a Fourth Disadvantage, that They can have no part in those Tryals and little Emulations, which other Men are continually exercised in towards one another, by the Jealousie they express of their Honour, or signalizing their Valour, their Wit, or their Bodily Strength ; which after all, is one of the most sensible Pleasures Men enjoy

enjoy in Conversation with one another. The Reason is obvious ; because every Man thinks himself bound in good Manners to yield to Them, to save a Decency, and not suffer them to be outdone ; and had rather balk their Own Honour, and abate of what they could do upon these Occasions, than give Offence to a Prince, whom they know Ambitious of being thought the Conqueror of all that contend with him. Now the Bottom and Truth of all this Matter is, that upon pretence of Deference and Respect, such Great Men are abus'd, and treated with great Scorn, and secret Contempt ; which gave occasion to a wise Man to say, that the Children of Princes were in a very ill way of Education, for they learnt nothing as they should do, except the Art of Riding a Manag'd Horse ; because in all other Cases Men yield, and adjudge the Prize to them ; But this Beast, who is not capable of Flattery, nor hath learnt the Arts of Courtship and Complaisance, makes no difference between the Prince and his Groom, and throws either of them without distinction. Several great Men have therefore refused the Applauses of Spectators, and scorn'd their formal Commendations, saying, *I should take this kindly, and be proud of it, if it came from Persons that durst say otherwise, and who would take that generous Freedom of finding Fault with Me, when I gave them a just occasion of doing so.*

The Fifth Inconvenience is, Their being debarr'd the Liberty of going Abroad, and the mighty Advantages of seeing the World. For they are perfectly Imprison'd within their own Country, and generally cooped up within the Precincts of their Court ; and there they are hedg'd in, as it were, with their own Creatures ; expos'd to the View of Spectators, and the Censure of Impertinent Tattlers and Busie-bodies, that watch and dog them every where, even in their most serious Actions.

12.

*Incapacity
of Travel-
ling.*

Which made King *Alphonso* say, that in this Respect the very *Asses* had more Liberty, and were in a better Condition, than Kings.

13.
As also of
mutual and
cordial
Friendship.

The Sixth Topick of their Miseries is, the being shut out from all *sincere Friendship*, and mutual Society, which is the very sweetest and most valuable Advantage of Humane Life; but such a one as can never be enjoy'd, except among Equals, or such at least between whom there is no very great Inequality. Now the Elevation of a Prince is so high, and the Distance at which his Subjects stand below him so very great, that it makes any intimate, and free Correspondence impracticable. All the Services, and Compliments, and humble Formalities paid them, come from such Hands as must do what they do, and dare not do otherwise. They are by no means the effect of Friendship, but of servile Submission, and Interest, and Design. All their zealous Professions are not for His sake, but their Own; to ingratiate and to raise Themselves; or else they are a Matter of Custom and Shew only. Which we see plainly they often are, from the vilest and most wicked Kings being serv'd, and reverenc'd, and addrest to, in the very same manner with the best, and most truly deserving those Honours; and even Them whom the People hate and curse, with Those whom they cordially love and adore. But still, whether a *Prince* be the One or the Other of these, no Body can make any Conjecture at all from outward Forms and Appearances; The Pomp, the Ceremony, the Compliment, and the whole Face and Behaviour of a Court, is always alike: Which *Julian* the Emperour was so sensible of, that when some of his Courtiers commended his *Justice*, he made Answer, "That he indeed should have some Temptation
"to grow proud upon their Praises, but that he
"consider'd whom they came from; and they
"who

“ who gave him good Words then, durst not take
“ upon them to Chide him when he happen'd to
“ deserve it.

The Seventh Particular, in which they exceed
the Miseries of common Men; and That which
perhaps is of all others the worst in it self, and
most destructive to the publick Safety, is, That
they are not at liberty to use their own Discretion
in the choice of Servants and Officers of Honour
and Trust; nor have Opportunities of attaining to
a true and perfect Knowledge of Things. They
are never suffer'd to know All; nor are they ever
thoroughly acquainted what Condition their Affairs
are really in; some better Face put upon the good
part, and some part conceal'd or colour'd over,
which is unfortunate or ill-manag'd, and would be
unacceptable, if rightly represented. As little are
they let in to the true Characters of Men, and
consequently, who are fit to be employ'd and
trusted. And what can be more miserable than
such a State of Ignorance as This; when They,
whose Concern it is to know best, are far from
understanding truly, either what is to be done, or
who are most proper to do it? Alas! they are en-
compassed, and blockaded up, as it were, by Peo-
ple of the first Quality, whom there is no getting
loose from: Either such as are their own Relations,
or who, upon the Account of their Families, and
Honours, and Places, or by long Custom and Pre-
scription, are so fix'd in Authority, and have so
great a Concern in the Management of Affairs,
that it is not advisable or safe to give them Dis-
gust. They must be caress'd, and preferr'd, and
have no ground of Jealousie or Discontent given
them: If Offices of the highest Consequence are
to be dispos'd of, These Persons must not be over-
look'd; if, when they are thus employ'd, they prove
incapable or unfit, the Retreat is difficult; All the

14.

*Being kept
in Igno-
rance.*

Nobility of their Alliance resent their Slight, or their Disgrace; and the mending an Improper Choice, or the making a Proper One, is sometimes in hazard of bringing All into Confusion. Now these Persons, who make it their Business to keep their Prince constantly muffled up, and never let him see the World, take good care that nothing shall appear to him as it really is; and that all such as are truly better and more useful Men than Themselves, shall never gain free Access to him, nor have their Abilities known. O! 'tis a wretched thing *to see nothing but with other Peoples Eyes; and to hear nothing but with other Mens Ears; as Princes, whose Eminence will not admit of Freedom, and Plain-dealing, and promiscuous Conversation, are under a necessity of doing. But that which makes the Misery complete, and the very worst that can be, is, that, commonly speaking, Princes and Great Persons are by a strange sort of Fatality, destin'd to, and in the possession of Three sorts of Men, who are the very Bane and Pest of Mankind, (viz.) Flatterers, Projectors for raising Money, and Informers. And these under a specious, but counterfeit Pretence, either of Zeal and Affection for their Prince, (as the Two former do) or of Integrity, and Virtue, and Reformation, (as the last) instead of improving or amending either, utterly deprave and ruine both Prince and People.*

15.

The Eighth Misery is, That they are less *Masters of their own Wills*, than any other Persons. For in all their Proceedings, there are infinite Considerations and Respects, which they are bound to observe, and these captivate and constrain their Designs, and Inclinations, and Desires. * *The greater*

* In maximâ fortunâ minima licentia.

any Man's Station and Capacity is, the less he is at his own Disposal. This one would think should prevail for fair Quarter at least, and favourable Allowances for what they do; but instead of being pitied or lamented for this Hardship, they are the most barbarously treated, the most severely censured, and traduced, of any Men living. For every bold Fellow sets up for a Politician, and undertakes to guess at their Meanings, to penetrate into their very Hearts and Thoughts. * To pry too curiously into the secret Intentions of a Prince, is unlawful; or, if it were not, yet it is but doubtful, and a Guess at best, what we cannot compass, and therefore ought not to attempt. The Cabinets of Princes are Sacred, and their Breasts ought to be much more so. These busie Men cannot discern them, and yet they are eternally arraigning and sentencing; They have a quite different Prospect of Things; and see them under another Face, from what they appear to Those at the Helm; or if they saw them both alike, yet both are not equally capable of understanding the Intricacies of them. Intrigues of State are Things above a Vulgar Capacity; but notwithstanding, every Man expects his Prince should do what He thinks most convenient, and blames his Conduct if he do otherwise; there is no Favour, no Patience to be obtained for any thing contrary to each Man's private Sentiments, tho' it be in it self never so fit, never so necessary, never so impossible to have been managed otherwise. In a Word, every Shop, every Coffee-house sits in Judgment upon their Governours; and without hearing or knowing the Merits of the Cause, proceed to severe and sawcy Condemnations of Them.

* Abditos Principis sensus, & si quid occultius parat exquirere, illicitum, anceps, nec ideo assequare.

Lastly,

16.
Their miserable End.

Lastly, It happens very often, that *Princes* come to a very untimely and unfortunate End; not only such of Them as by Usurpation and Tyranny provoke Men to bring it upon them, for this is not much to be wonder'd at, and such have no more than their Due; but, (which is a miserable Case indeed) Those who are most Rightful in their Title, and most regular, and just, and gentle in the Administration of their Government. How frequent Instances of this kind does the *Roman History* present us with, in those Emperors that follow'd after the Civil Wars of *Pompey* and *Cæsar*? And not to go so far back, we know that *Henry III.* of *France*, was Assassinated by a little insignificant Frier in the midst of an Army of Forty Thousand Men; and infinite other Examples of Poysonings, Murders, and villanous Conspiracies are to be found in all Ages.

** Kings pass down to the Shades in Blood; few stay
 For Common Deaths, and Nature's slow decay.*

A Man would be almost tempted to imagine, that as Storms and Tempests, seem to wreak their Spight most upon the towering Pride of the loftiest Buildings, so there are some malicious Spirits, that envy, and make it their Business to humble and ruine, and trample down the Majesty and Greatness of Those, who stand most exalted here below.

*† And hence we fancy unseen Powers in Things
 Whose Force and Will such strange Confusion brings,
 And spurns and overthrows our greatest Kings. Creech*

** Ad generum Cereris sine cæde & sanguine pauci
 Descendunt Reges, & siccâ morte Tyranni.*

*† Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
 Obterit, & pulchros fasces, sævasque secures*

Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi haberi videtur. Lucret. Lib. 5.

To sum up all in a Word. The Condition of *Sovereign Princes* is above all Others incumbred with Difficulties, and exposed to Dangers. Their Life, provided it be Innocent and Virtuous, is infinitely laborious, and full of Cares ; If it be Wicked, it is then the Plague and Scourge of the World ; hated and cursed by all Mankind ; and whether it be the One or the Other, it is beset with inexpressible Hazards ; for the greater any Governour is, the less he can be secure ; the less he can trust to Himself ; and yet the more need he hath to be secure, and not to trust Others, but Himself. And this may satisfy us, how it comes to pass, that the being betray'd and abus'd, is a thing very natural and easie to happen, a common, and almost inseparable Consequence of Government and Sovereign Power.

*Of the Duty of Princes, see Book III.
Chap. 16.*

C H A P. L.

Of Magistrates.

THere are great Differences, and several *Degrees of Magistrates*, with regard both to the Honour, and the Power that belongs to them : For These are the two considerable Points to be observ'd in distinguishing them, and they are entirely independent upon one another ; They may be, and often are each of them single and alone. Sometimes Those Persons who are in the most honourable Posts, have yet no great Matter of Authority or Power lodg'd in their Hands ; as the King's Coun-

I.

Council, Privy-Counsellors in some Governments, and Secretaries of State : Some have but One of these two Qualifications ; others have Both ; and all have them in different Degrees ; but those are properly, and in strict speaking, *Magistrates*, in whom both Honour and Power meet together.

2. *Magistrates* are in a middle Station, and stand between the Prince and private Men ; subordinate to the One, but superiour to the Other ; They carry Justice home, and hand it down from above ; but of this they being only the Ministers and Instruments, can have no manner of Power inherent in Themselves, when the Prince Himself, who is the Fountain of Law and Justice, is present. As Rivers lose their Name and their Force, when they have emptied and incorporated their Waters into the Sea, and as Stars disappear at the Approach of the Sun ; so all the Authority of *Magistrates* in the Presence of the Sovereign, whose Deputies and Vicegerents They are, is either totally suspended, or upon sufferance only. And the Case is the same if we descend a little lower, and compare the Commissions of Subalterns, and inferiour Officers, with Those in a higher and more general Jurisdiction. Those that are in the same Commission are all upon the Level ; there is no Power or Superiority There over one another ; all that they can do, is to consult together, and be assisting to each other by concurrence ; or else to obstruct and restrain each other, by opposing what is doing, and preventing its being done.

3. All *Magistrates* judge, condemn, and command, either according to the Form and express Letter of the Law ; (and then the Decisions they give, and the Sentences they pronounce, are nothing else but a putting the Law in execution) or else they proceed upon Rules of Equity, and reasonable Consideration, (and then this is call'd the *Duty of the Magistrate.*)

Magi-

Magistrates cannot alter their own Decrees, nor correct the Judgment they have given, without express Permission of the Sovereign, upon Penalty of being adjudged Falsifiers of the Publick Records. They may indeed revoke their own Orders, or they may suspend the Execution of them for some time, as they shall see Occasion. But when once a Cause is brought to an Issue, and Sentence given upon a full and fair Hearing, they have no Power to retract that Judgment, nor to mend or try it over again, without fresh Matter require it.

*Of the Duty of Magistrates. See Book III.
Chap. 17.*

CHAP. LI.

Lawgivers and Teachers.

IT is a Practice very usual with some Philosophers and Teachers, to prescribe such *Laws* and *Rules*, as are above the Proportions of Virtue, and what the Condition of Humane Nature will suffer very few, if any at all, to come up to. They draw the Images much bigger and more beautiful than the Life; or else set us such Patterns of Difficult and Austere Virtue, as are impossible for us to equal, and so discourage many; and render the Attempt it self Dangerous, and of ill Consequence to some. These are merely the Painter's Fancy, like *Plato's* Republick, *Sir Thomas More's* *Utopia*, *Cicero's* Orator, or *Horace* his Poet. Noble Characters indeed, and a Collection of acknowledged Excellencies in Speculation; but such as the World wants living Instances of. The Best and most perfect Law-giver, who in marvelous Conde-

scension

scension was pleased himself to be sensible of our Infirmities, hath shewed great Tenderneſs and Compaſſion for them, and wiſely conſider'd what Humane Nature would bear. He hath ſuited all Things ſo well to the Capacities of Mankind, that thoſe Words of His are True, even in this Reſpect alſo, *My Yoke is eaſie, and my Burden is light.*

Now, where theſe Powers are not duly conſulted, the *Laws* are firſt of all Unjuſt; for ſome Proportion ought to be obſerv'd between the Command, and the Obedience; the Duty impoſed, and the Ability to diſcharge it. I do not ſay, Theſe Commands ſhould not exceed what is uſually done, but what is poſſible to be done; for what Vanity and Folly is it to oblige People to be always in a Fault, and to cut out more Work, than can ever be finiſhed? Accordingly we may frequently obſerve, that theſe rigid Stretchers of Laws, are the Firſt that expoſe them to publick Scorn, by their own Neglect; and, like the *Phariſees* of old, lay heavy Burdens upon others, which they themſelves will not ſo much as touch with one of their Fingers. Theſe Examples are but too obvious in all Professions; This is the Way of the World. Men direct one Thing, and practiſe another; and That, not always through Defect or Corruption of Manners, but ſometimes even out of Judgment and Principle too.

Another Fault too frequent is, That many Perſons are exceeding Scrupulous and Nice in Matters which are merely Circumſtantial, or free and indifferent in their own Nature; even above what they expreſs themſelves in ſome of the moſt neceſſary and ſubſtantial Branches of their Duty, ſuch as the Laws of God, or the Light of Nature have bound upon them. This is much ſuch another Extravagance, as lending to other People, while

while we neglect to pay our own Debts. A *Pharisaical Ostentation*, which our Heavenly Master so severely exposes the Jewish Elders for, and is at the Bottom no better than *Hypocrisie*; a mocking of God, and miserable deluding of their own Souls.

Seneca indeed hath said something concerning the Impracticableness of some Duties, which, if rightly observ'd, is of good Use; but then it must not be over-strain'd, nor applied to all Occasions indifferently. * *When ever (says he) you have Reason to distrust the due performance of the Precepts or Laws you establish, it is necessary to require something more than will just serve the Turn, to the intent, That which is sufficient may be sure not to be neglected. For all Hyperboles and Excesses of this kind are useful to this purpose, that Men, by having something expressed which is not true, may be brought to just Ideas of that which is true.*

With this Quotation our Author ends his Chapter in the older Edition, which I thought convenient to add here; and not only so, but in regard I am sensible, what perverse Use Licentious Men may make of the former Objection to the Prejudice of Religion, and in particular Vindication of their own Neglects and Vicious Lives; and also what Occasions of Scruple and Disquiet it may minister to some well-meaning Persons, when they compare their own Defects with the Perfection of the Divine Laws; I beg the Reader's Leave to insert at large what a Learned and Excellent Writer of our own hath delivered to this purpose.

* *Quoties parum fiducia est, in his, in quibus imperas, amplius exigendum est quam satis est, ut præstetur quantum satis est. In hoc omnis Hyperbole excedit, ut ad Verum Mendacio veniat.*

And this I hope, if well consider'd, may both confute the Licentious, and quiet the Doubting and Dissatisfied in the Point before us.

Dr. Bar-

row, Vol. I.

Serm. XXVI.

“ Laws (says he) must not be depressed to our
 “ Imperfection, nor Rules bent to our Obliquity ;
 “ but we must ascend towards the Perfection of
 “ Them, and strive to conform our Practice to
 “ Their Exactness. If what is prescribed, be ac-
 “ cording to the Reason of Things, Just and Fit,
 “ it is enough, although our Practice will not reach
 “ it. For what remaineth may be supply'd by
 “ Repentance, and Humility, in him that should
 “ obey ; by Mercy and Pardon in him that doth
 “ command.

“ In the Prescription of Duty it is just, that
 “ what may be required (even in Rigour) should
 “ be precisely determined ; though in Execution
 “ of Justice, or Dispensation of Recompence,
 “ Consideration may be had of our Weakness :
 “ Whereby both the Authority of our Gover-
 “ nour, may be maintain'd, and his Clemency
 “ glorify'd.

“ It is of great Use, that by comparing the
 “ Law with our Practice, and in the Perfection
 “ of the One, discerning the Defect of the Other ;
 “ we may be humbled, may be sensible of our
 “ Impotency, may thence be forced to seek the
 “ Helps of Grace, and the Benefit of Mercy.

“ Were the Rule never so low, our Practice
 “ would come below it ; it is therefore expedient
 “ that it should be high ; that at least we may
 “ rise higher in Performance than otherwise we
 “ should do. For the higher we aim, the nearer
 “ we shall go to the due Pitch ; as He that aimeth
 “ at Heaven, although he cannot reach it, will
 “ yet shoot higher, than He that aimeth only at
 “ the House Top.

“ The

“ The Height of Duty doth prevent Sloth and
“ Decay in Virtue, keeping us in wholesome Exer-
“ cise, and in continual Improvement, while we
“ are always climbing towards the Top, and strain-
“ ing unto farther Attainment. The sincere Pro-
“ secution of which Course, as it will be more
“ Profitable to Us, so it will be no less Accepta-
“ ble to God, than if we could thoroughly ful-
“ fil the Law ; For in Judgment God will only
“ reckon upon the Sincerity and Earnestness of our
“ Endeavour ; so that if we have done our Best,
“ it will be taken, as if we had done All. *Our*
“ *Labour will not be lost in the Lord ;* for the De-
“ grees of performance will be considered, and he
“ that hath done his Duty in part, shall be pro-
“ portionably recompensed ; according to that of
“ *St. Paul, Every Man shall receive his own reward*
“ *according to his own Work.* Hence sometimes we
“ are enjoined to be *perfect as our Heavenly Father*
“ *is perfect ;* and to be *Holy as God is Holy ;* other-
“ while to *go on to Perfection, and to press toward*
“ *the Mark ;* which Precepts, in Effect do import
“ the same Thing ; but the latter implieth the
“ former, although in Attainment impossible, yet
“ in Attempt very profitable. And surely he is
“ likely to write best, who proposeth to himself
“ the fairest Copy for his Imitation.

“ In fine, if we do act what is possible, or as
“ we can, do conform to the Rule of Duty, we
“ may be sure, that no Impossibility of *any Sublime*
“ *Law* can prejudice us.

“ I say of *any Law*, for—many, perhaps every
“ one *Evangelical Law* are alike repugnant to cor-
“ rupt Nature, and seem to surmount our Ability.

Thus far that Reverend Person, whose Argu-
ment I know not whether I ought to ask pardon
for representing so largely ; but I was willing to

give it entire, for the greater Satisfaction of Them who think themselves concern'd to consider it: And likewise, that it might be of more Use, when apply'd, (as very appliable it is) to other *Laws* and Precepts, wherein *Religion* is not immediately concerned. In short, a *Law-Giver* and a *Judge* are two very different Characters, and such as require very different Methods, and Principles; for it is one Thing to Establish, and another to Execute the Law. And the want of observing this Distinction occasions all the Complaints and Declamatory Strains we hear, against *Moral* and *Revealed Religion*, as if they imposed Things merely Romantick, and Imaginary. To all which I add too, that though we none of us can attain to Perfection, yet most of us might go much greater Lengths towards it, than we do. And that This is often made an unnecessary Pretence, a Cloak to our Folly, or Sloth, or indulged Vices; which, when they have all of them been wilful and affected, we palliate and excuse, by taking Sanctuary very improperly, in the Infirmities of Humane Nature, the Imperfections and Failings of the best Men, and the Impossibility and Impracticableness of the Duties imposed upon us.

C H A P. LII.

Of the Common People.

BY the *Common People*, here, we are not to understand all that have no Part in the Government, and whose only Business is to Obey ; but I mean the Rout and vulgar Croud, the Dregs and Rubbish of the Common-Wealth ; Men of a Mean, Slavish, and Mechanical Spirit and Condition, let them cover, or call, or set Themselves off how they will. Now, This is a *many-headed Monster* ; such as cannot be described in a little Compass ; Inconstant and Changeable, Restless and Rolling, like the Waves of the Sea ; They are ruffled and calmed, They approve and disapprove the self-same Thing, in a Moment of Time : Nothing in the World can be more easie, than to manage and turn this Bawble which Way and into what Form you please ; they Laugh or Cry, are Angry or Pleas'd, or in any other Passion, just as one would have them ; They love not War for the Sake of its End, nor Peace for the Sake of the Quiet it brings, but they are fond both of the One and the Other ; because each is New, and always makes some Change. Confusion puts them upon desiring Order ; and when they are compos'd, they hate Order and Regularity then, as much as they did Confusion before. They are perpetually running from one Extreme to another ; fond of Contraries ; all Seasons and Times are lost to them, except what is not ; for

H h 2

they

they feed only upon the Future. † *These* (says one) *are the Qualities, This the constant Custom and Practice of the Common People, to hate and decry the Present, to be eager and desirous of the Future; extravagantly to commend and extol Things and Times that are past.*

2. They are credulous and busie, apt to entertain and pick up all manner of *News*, but especially such as is ill and disastrous; and whatever they hear reported, they take it for granted must needs be true; Let a Man but come provided with some fresh Story, and give it out that it is so, and he shall whistle them together as thick as Swarms of Bees at the tinkling of a Brass Pan.

3. They are Injudicious, Unreasonable, Indiscreet; All their Wisdom and Judgment is perfect Chance, Cross or Pile, Even or Odd; They speak their Mind, and determine with great Positiveness and Fierceness; and are always stiff and peremptory in it. And all this while it is not any Opinion of their own, but that of other People; for they take all upon Trust, follow the Vogue and common Cry, are born away by Custom and Numbers, and run like Sheep; because they are led, and others have gone before them; not because the Thought is reasonable, or the Thing true in it self. * *There is no such thing as Judgment or Truth to be met with among the Vulgar; for they discern nothing. They are persuaded frequently by common Opinion, but very seldom by the Truth of the Thing.*

Tacit.

Cic.

4. They are envious and malicious, Enemies to good Men, Despisers of Virtue; They look upon

† *Hi vulgi mores odisse, præsentia, ventura cupere. præterita celebrare.*

* *Plebi non Judicium, non Veritas. Ex Opinione multa, ex Veritate pauca judicat.*

the Wealth and Prosperity, the Successes and Advancements of others, with a jealous and an evil Eye. They always take the weakest and the worst Side; give countenance to Knaves, and hate Persons of Honour and Quality, without knowing any manner of Reason for it, except that One, that they are higher and better than Themselves, more esteem'd, and well spoken of.

They are treacherous, false, and disloyal; they magnifie every Report, enlarge and aggravate what is true, and make every thing Ten times more and greater than it really is: You never know where nor when to have them: The Promise or Fidelity of the Mobb, is like the Thought of a Child, born and gone in an Instant; They change, not only as their Interest changes, but are blown and carry'd about to every Quarter, with the next Blast of idle Report, or vain Surmise; and every Hour of the Day makes a new Alteration in their Opinions and Affections.

They are eternally † *disposed to Mutiny and Faction, Troublesom, and fond of Change; mortal Enemies to Peace, and Order, and Concord*; but especially, when they get any Body to Head or Lead them on, for then they are insolent and insupportable. Like the Sea, which is smooth and calm by Nature, but when put into Agitation by the Winds, it swells, and curls, and foams, and roars; just so the Madness of the People is blown up, and bears down all with the impetuous Torrent. And again, Take off their Ring-leaders, and they fall flat before you, are all in Disorder and Confusion, and quite dead with Fear, and Terrour, and Astonishment;

5.
6.
Salust.

† Ingenio mobili, seditiosum, discordiosum, cupidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adversum.

Tacit.

* *Inconsiderate and Fearful, Cowardly and Dispirited.*

7.

They countenance and support busie troublesome Fellows, and admire those most who are ever blaming, and disturbing the Administration of Affairs. Modesty passes with Them for Cowardice, and prudent Caution for Stupidity and Heaviness. On the contrary, Fierceness and blind Fury is commended and ador'd, under the specious, but false Titles of Courage and Bravery. Those that have hot Heads, and itching Hands, are preferr'd by Them infinitely before Men of sound Judgment, that weigh things nicely, and never proceed but upon mature Deliberations. And flashy prating Coxcombs take more with them, than plain, reserved Persons, of solid and sober Sense.

8.

They have no regard at all for the publick Good, nor for Virtue or Decency, but all their Thoughts center in private and Personal Advantage; they look no higher nor farther than Themselves, and take up unaccountable Piques at Those that oppose their Profit. All their Diligence is mercenary, all their Zeal is sordid; nothing is so vile, but Profit will reconcile them to it. † *Every Man hath a private Spur within, and the Honour or Benefit of the Publick is of no Regard or Concern with them.*

Tacit.

9.

They are perpetually growling and repining at the Government; ready to burst with Discontent, and venting their supposed Grievances in all manner of insolent and base Language; aspersing Those that are set over them, and loading them with the most virulent Reproaches. Men of low Condition and small Fortunes comfort Themselves this

* Sine rectore præceptis, pavidus, socors; nil ausura Plebs Principibus amotis.

† Privata cuique stimulatio, vile decus publicum.

way: It is almost the only Pleasure they find to speak ill of the Rich, and the Great; and This, not because they have any just Provocation, or Reason so to do, but purely out of Envy and Ill-nature, which never suffers them to rest satisfy'd with their Governours, and the present Posture of Affairs.

But they are all Talk and Froth; without Matter, without Reason; their Minds never advance, nor stir one step; their Tongues are always in action, and never lie still. They are a sort of Monster, made up of nothing but Tongue; in at All, and know Nothing; prying into every thing, and yet blind, and see nothing; any thing pleases and makes them laugh, and any thing discontents and makes them cry. They are always in readiness for Mutiny and Rebellion, bluster, and swagger, and threaten; but these forward Men in Design and Discourse, take care to sleep in a whole Skin, and are the backwardest in Fight, and upon the Approach of Danger. For their Property is, to be always struggling to shake off their Yoke, and much better at trying for Liberty, than keeping it when they have it. † *The Temper of the* Salust. *Mobile, (say the Roman Historians very truly) is* Tacit. *Sauciness and Insolence; their Tongues are fierce and talkative, their Courage when it comes to tryal, Tameness and mere Nothing; and all the Bravery they put on, ends in empty Boasts and Bullying.*

They never know when to give over, but are always running into Extremes; absolute Strangers to Moderation and Decency. Either you have them cringing, and fawning, and descending to the vilest and basest submission of Slaves; or else insolent, and tyrannical, and domineering, beyond

† *Procacia plebis Ingenia, Impigræ Linguae, Ignavi Animi.*

all Measure, beyond all Patience. They cannot endure the Rein when gently manag'd ; nor be content to enjoy a reasonable Liberty, and such Indulgences and Terms as are fit for them ; but are eternally either flying out, or falling under their Rider : Too confident, or too distrustful of their own Strength ; too bold, or too tame ; transported with Hope, or quite dispirited with Fear. They always bring Matters to this Issue, that if you do not make Them stand in awe of You, they will make You stand in awe of Them. When once you have humbled and terrify'd Them soundly, you may give them a Bit and a Knock, put out their Eyes, trample upon their Necks ; nothing is so reproachful, but they will bear it. But if you do not shew them the Rod, and make them sensible who is their Driver, they grow proud, and daring, and turbulent. There is no such thing as Ingenuity, or a Sense of good Usage to be expected from them ; and hence comes that Proverb, commonly apply'd to those churlish Wretches, that grow upon Them, who treat them gently, and would win them by Favour and Kindness. *Stroke Him and he'll spurn You ; spurn Him and he'll stroke You.* * *The Vulgar know no Mean ; they affright unless they fear ; and when they are in fear, they may be safely despised.* † *They are troublesomely bold, when out of Apprehension of a stronger Hand ; the humblest Servants, or the haughtiest Masters : But for Liberty and Moderation, they pretend to value them most, but know how to practise and enjoy them least.*

Tacit.

Livy.

* Nil in vulgo modicum, terrere nisi paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni.

† Audaciâ turbidum nisi vim metuat ; aut servit humiliter, aut superbè dominatur ; libertatem, quæ media, nec spernere, nec habere.

They

They are scandalous more especially for Ingratitude to their best and most generous Benefactors. The Thanks and Recompence which those Great Men have generally met with, that expended their Blood, and Treasure, and Labours in the Service of the Publick, and have deserv'd most at their Hands, are Banishment, or Disgrace; an open Accusation, or a general Calumny; a Conspiracy, or an untimely Death. Histories both Sacred and Profane furnish infinite Instances, and are more full of no

One thing, than celebrated Examples of this kind. *Moses*, and all the Prophets; *Socrates*, *Aristides*, *Phocion*, *Lycurgus*, *Demosthenes*, *Themistocles*, and many other venerable Names in Antiquity, are lasting indelible Monuments of this base Disposition. Nay, *Truth it self* told the *Jews*, that not any of Them Matt. xxiii who made it their Business to promote the Happiness and Salvation of that People, had escaped the Malice and Violence of Them or their Forefathers. But quite contrary, those that oppress, and keep them under, they cherish and make much of; fear and admire all they do; when the loss of Power and Freedom hath depress'd their Minds, and made them slavish too.

In short; The Mob is a savage Beast; all its Thoughts are Vanity, its Opinions and Assertions erroneous and false; the Good is commonly rejected and condemned, the Evil approved and applauded by them. The Commendations they give are Infamous, and their Projects and Undertakings, Folly. For *Seneca* hath told us long since, that ** Matters are not so well with Mankind, as that most Voices should be on the best side. For the common Crowd is a shrewd Argument that what is so liked is very bad.* In short, the Rabble is the Mother of Ignorance,

• Non tam bene cum rebus humanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant; Argumentum pessimi turba est.

Injustice, Inconstancy, and Adorer of Vanity; and the studying to please them can never turn to true Account. They give indeed for their Motto, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*: But we may say very truly, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of Foolish and Mistaken Men*. And one of the first Principles of *Wisdom*, is to wash one's Hands, and get quite dispossess'd of all popular and general Opinions, and to proceed clearly, and without any manner of Byass or Prejudice, in our Enquiries after *Truth* and *Virtue*. This will be quickly illustrated in our *Second Book*; toward which we are now drawing on apace.

*The Fourth Distinction of Men,
taken from their different Profes-
sions, Circumstances, and Man-
ner of Living.*

P R E F A C E.

WE are now about to take another Difference between Some Men and Others, into Consideration; which depends upon their different Professions, Conditions, and Ways of Life. Some follow a Life of Business and Company; Others avoid This, and make their Escape out of the World, by running into Solitude. Some are fond of Arms and a Camp; Others hate and abhor them: Some have their Substance in Common; Others have their own distinct Properties. Some are fond of Offices and Employments, and would fain live in Publick, and be conspicuous in the World; Others decline These when they might have them, and affect to live privately and unobserv'd. Some are absolute Courtiers to every Body, and upon all Occasions; Others regard and make court to nothing but Themselves. Some prefer the Diversions of the Town, and Others the Pleasures of the Country. It is not easie, nor is it indeed at all necessary and pertinent to our present Purpose, that I should take upon me to determine which of all these Men is most to be commended for the Wisdom of his Choice; for every one of these ways of Living hath its Advantages
and

and Disadvantages ; some particular Good, and some Evil, that attends, and is not to be separated from it. That which would be much more worth our Consideration and Pains, is to inform each of These in his Duty ; for the main Point of all is, that this Choice be wisely made, and so as may suit best with every one's Temper and Abilities ; and then after he hath chosen, that the Man be instructed how to make himself the most easie under it, and to make the best Improvement of it that the Case will bear. This must be our Business hereafter ; but at present we will say just one single Word of each of these Conditions, and compare them a little with one another. Only permit in the first place, that I make some short Observations upon That Life which is common to Men in all Capacities, and which may be distinguish'd into Three Sorts or Degrees.

C H A P. LIII.

The Three Sorts or Degrees of Life, as it is common to the Generality of Men, distinguish'd and compar'd together.

IT is easie to observe Three distinct Sorts, and as it were Degrees of Life, common to Men in general. One *Private*, in which every Man is unavoidably concern'd ; for by this I mean only what passes with each Man's Self, within, and in regard to his Own Breast. The Second is *Domestick*, in one's Own House and Family, with regard to what passes at Home, and in our ordinary Course of Affairs. The Third is *Publick*, and respects what is exposed to the common View of the World. In the First of these there is no manner of Restraint ;

the Second no Pains or Study to recommend
ne's Behaviour, as being not accountable for our
own Management to Them that live under our
own Roof and Government; but all the Reserve,
and Artifice, and Dissimulation is in a manner ap-
propriated to the last of These. Now it is much
more difficult to be regular and exact in the first of
these Degrees, than in either of the other; and the
Examples of Persons that are, or have been so, have
been infinitely fewer; and so in proportion the
Case stands with the Second too, in comparison of
the Third sort. The Reason is obvious and evident.
For where there is no Body to judge, or controul, or
countermand; nay, where there is not so much as
a Spectator to observe our Actions; where we have
no Apprehension of Punishment for doing amiss,
no Expectation of Reward for doing well, we are
much more remiss and careless in our Behaviour.
Reason and Conscience are here the only Guides
we have to follow; and although These may be
some Check, yet that is not comparable to the Re-
straints we feel, when placed in open View, and
made the common Mark of All, who must needs
see, and will take a Freedom of censuring our Acti-
ons. Applause and Glory, fear of Scandal and Re-
proach, or some other Passion of the like Nature,
are much more powerful Motives; these carry and
manage us after a very different manner. (And in-
deed the greatest part of Mankind are more go-
vern'd by Passions of this Nature, than by any strict
Sense of Duty, and regard to Virtue) These put us
upon our Guard, and teach us Prudence upon force.
And from the Influence of These it is, that many
People have the Reputation of Holy and Excellent
Persons; and behave Themselves as such in the
Eye of the World; who yet in reality, and at the
bottom, are mere Hypocrites, stark nought, and
rotten at the Core, and have not one commendable
Quality

Quality belonging to them. What passes before Men is all Farce and Counterfeit ; we put it on for Convenience, and are concern'd to appear thus to the Spectators ; but the Truth of us is conceal'd, and the Man can have no true Judgment made of him, but from what he does in private and alone. We must see him in his constant and every-day's Dress, and strip him of those Ornaments that set him off when he comes abroad : We must know his Temper and his usual Deportment, for all the rest is Fiction and Constraint.

** All the World are Actors, and play their Parts to please the Audience.* And it was well observ'd by a Wise Man, That none are good, except such as are so inwardly, and by Themselves : And that Virtue is always the same ; as cautious, as prudent upon the account of Conscience, as it is in Obedience to the publick Laws and Customs of the World ; as fearful of offending one's own Self, and as careful to avoid the Condemnation of one's own Breast, when no Eye sees us, as it is of the Observation and Reproaches of all Mankind. Publick Actions, such as Exploits in War, delivering an Opinion in Senate or Council, discharging an Embassy, governing a Nation, or the like, are bright and loud ; every Body sees, every Body hears of them ; and therefore These are perform'd with all possible Diligence and Circumspection ; but such Private and Domestick ones, as Chiding, Laughing, Selling and Buying, Borrowing and Paying, and Conversing with our own Families, and most intimate Acquaintance, are silent and dark ; they make no Noise, fear no Discovery, and are therefore thought worthy very little, or not any Attention or Consideration at all. Nay, we are sometimes scarce so

** Univerſus mundus exercet hiſtrioniam.*

much as sensible of them when we do them. And in These, Men be so unthinking, a little Reflection will soon convince us, that they are infinitely more so, in Those yet more secret and merely internal; such as Loving, Hating, Desiring, of which none is or can be conscious, but their own Minds.

There is one Thing more, fit to be observed upon this Occasion, and a very sad and wicked Thing it is (*viz.*) That Men, being depraved by a kind of Hypocrisie, natural to them, have taught Themselves and Others to make a greater Conscience, and be infinitely more scrupulous and concern'd, for their outward Behaviour; (which consists in Shew, and Form, and is perfectly free and at their own Disposol, of no Consequence in the World, but all over Set-Countenance and Ceremony, Things of no real Difficulty, and as little Substance and Effect) than they are for inward Miscarriages, or private Actions; (such as are buried in Secrecy, and make no Figure, but yet are highly Expedient and Necessary, very Valuable in Themselves, and therefore very Difficult) For upon these Last, the Reforming of our Souls, the Moderating of our Passions, and the Regulating our whole Life and Conversation depends. And yet the Former are not only preferred before them in our Care and Concern, but the Matter is so ordered, that even They who find themselves well disposed, will by constant Study and Sollicitude to discharge those outward Actions punctually, degenerate into Formality of Course, and by insensible Degrees grow Cold, and Negligent, in their Regard for the others.

Now, of all these Sorts, it is plain, that the Men (as Hermits for Instance) who live in perfect Solitude, and have but One of these Three, That of the Internal and most private Life only to take

take Care of, are upon better Terms, and have an easier Task to discharge, than Those that have Two; and so likewise he that hath the Domestick Care added to the former, and so lies under a Duty in Two Capacities, is exposed to less Difficulty than the Persons of a Publick Life and Character, upon whom the Care of all the Three Degrees is incumbent.

C H A P. LIV.

A Life of Company and Business, compar'd with one of Retirement and Solitude.

THEY that upon all Occasions recommend and cry up a *Solitary Life*, are so far certainly in the Right, that it is an Excellent Means of Ease and Quiet; a sure Retreat from the Hurry and Troubles of the World; a very proper and effectual Defence against the Vices and Extravagances of a profligate Age; which are commonly propagated by Infection and Example; and are very likely to Spread and Reign, where much the greater Part of those we converse with, are already tainted with the Disease. For not One in a Thousand is Vertuous and Good; the Number of Fools is Infinite, and the thicker the Crowd, the greater the Danger. Thus far, I say, they have Reason on their Side; for ill Company is certainly one of the most fatal and ensnaring Things in the World; and that, not only in Regard of the Corruption, but of the Punishment and Vengeance it exposes Men to. Accordingly we may observe how very careful Men that went to Sea, used to be, that no Blasphemer or profane Person should embark in
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the same Vessels, no profligate, wicked Wretch to endanger their Safety, or render their Voyage Disastrous or Unsuccessful. One single *Jonas* you see, whom God was angry with, had like to have lost all the Ship's Crew: And *Bias*, when some wicked Wretches call'd upon their Gods in a Storm, made them this ingenious Reproof by way of Raillery, *Hold your Peace, that they may not discover such vile Wretches as you are on board.* *Albuquerque*, who was Viceroy of the Indies under *Emmanuel*, King of *Portugal*, when in extreme Danger, laid hold on a young Boy, and clung fast to him, that so his Innocence might be a Shelter and Sanctuary to him, against the Wrath of God. So beneficial hath Virtue been esteemed, and so destructive Vice, not only to the Guilty, or the Vicious Persons themselves, but to all that are concerned with them, or come within the Reach of their Influence.

But yet to esteem a Life thus retired and at a Distance from Evil, absolutely the Best, and most Excellent ; to think it better qualify'd than any other, for the Exercise and Perfection of Virtue ; to call it more Difficult and Unpleasant, more Laborious and Painful than any other, as some who extol a voluntary renouncing the World, would fain persuade us to believe, is a mighty Error in themselves, or a gross Cheat upon other People. For, quite contrary, it is the most effectual Expedient of throwing off the Cares and troublesome Incumbrances of Life, and rendring it light and easie ; and to say the very Best of it, is but a very mean and moderate Attainment, an imperfect Beginning, or rather a mere Disposition to be Virtuous. It is, not to meddle with Business, to abandon Difficulties and Troubles ; But how is this done ? It is not by engaging with, and bravely overcoming them, but by cowardly running away, declining the Combate, and hiding ones self from

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them.

them. It is to play least in Sight, and be buried alive, for fear we should not live well when we are seen. No Doubt is to be made, but a Prince, a Magistrate, or Parochial Priest, are more perfect, more valuable, when Good in their kind, than Monks and Hermits: For in truth, such Societies and Seminaries were only design'd to prepare Men for Dignities and Business; to qualify them for Society and the World. And Colleges and Cloisters do not give, but only lead Men to Usefulness and Perfection. He that maintains his Post in the World, and satisfies the Duty which the several Relations and Capacities he stands in require from him; that converses with Wife, and Children, and Servants, and Neighbours, and Friends; that manages his own Estate, and engages in Business fit for his Condition; He, I say, that undertakes to act so many different Parts, and to answer the several Characters as becomes him, hath incomparably more Work upon his Hands, and is infinitely more Valuable, if he perform it, than the Recluse, who is determined to one single thing, and hath only the Duty to himself to take care of. For Company and Variety of Conversation is infinitely more hazardous, than Solitude; and Plenty much harder to manage than Want. In a State of Abstinence, and Freedom from Business, a Man hath but one Pass to guard; in the Use and Management of several Things, many Considerations must be attended to, many Duties discharged, and he lies open to Attacks from several Quarters at once. And there is no Doubt in the World to be made, but a Man may much more easily conquer Himself to disclaim and refuse Riches, and Honours, great Offices and gainful Preferments, than he can govern himself in the Use, or come off with Virtue and just Commendation in the Discharge of them. It is no very difficult Matter to live without a Wife,
but

but to live with a Wife, and behave ones self in all Respects, as a Husband ought to do; to order and educate Children, and bear due Regard, and make fit Provisions for a Family, and all its Dependencies; is a Task Men seldom give themselves the trouble to consider. But They that do, and make a right Judgment of it, will be very far from extolling Cælibacy, as some do, or think it an Argument of higher Virtue, or a State of greater Difficulty than Marriage.

2. Nor are Men less mistaken, when they suppose that *Solitude* is a safe Shelter from all manner of Vice; and that He, who takes Sanctuary in it, and sequesters himself from the World, rides in Harbour, and is out of the Reach of Tempests and Temptations; for These find a way to pursue, and overtake us even There. This is indeed a Convenient Retreat from the Corruptions of ill Company; from the Clutter and Crowd of Cares and Business, and the Mischiefs that threaten and come upon us from Without; but there are other Enemies and Dangers from Within, which we always carry about us, and cannot run away from, Spiritual and Internal Difficulties, Domestick and peculiar Evils; and the Scripture takes express Notice, that the *Wilderness* was the Place, where our Saviour was Assaulted, and *Tempted by the Devil*. Retirement is a dangerous Weapon in the Hands of Young Men; such as are Hot and Imprudent, Rash and Unskillful; and there is great Reason to fear, that, what *Crates* said to a Young Man whom he found walking all alone, is generally true of such Persons; and that such, when they are by Themselves, are in very bad Company. This is the Place where Fools lay their wicked Projects; here they find Leisure and Opportunities for contriving their own Ruine; here they cherish and indulge unlawful Desires; file, and polish, and refine upon their own Passions, without Observation,

without Controul. A Man had need be very Wise, to know how to make the best Use of Privacy; watchful and well fortify'd, before he is fit to be trusted with Himself; for many times ones Own Hands, are the very Worst he can be put into. It is an excellent Petition, which the *Spaniards* use, even to a Proverb, * *O Lord, I beseech thee, preserve me from My Self. Very few indeed, have discretion enough to be left to Themselves, and nothing is so bad, but Secrecy and Solitude, are powerful Temptations to comply with it.* But for Men to take up their Heels, and skulk in a Corner, upon any Private and Personal Consideration, though it be a lawful and commendable one in it self, which yet is the best, and not always the Truth of the Case (for very often Cowardice, and Weakness of Spirit, Peevishness and Pets, or some other discontented or vicious Passion is at the Bottom of all this pompous and pretended Contempt of the World) is to turn Deserter, and not dare to stand to our Arms. There is a mighty Difference between forsaking the World, and falling out with it; between conquering, and not hazarding our Persons in the Engagement. And when Men are in a Capacity of becoming beneficial to Others, and may be Instruments of Great and General Good, to excuse Themselves from serving the Publick, and abandon all Society when they might adorn and be useful in it, is to betray their Trust, to *bury their Talent in a Napkin; to hide the Candle, which God hath lighted, under a Bushel*, when the setting it on a Candle-Stick, might enlighten others, and do great Service to *all that are in the House.* It requires then much Deliberation, and many uncommon Circumstances, to give Men a

* *Guarda mi, Dios de mi.*

Nemo est ex imprudentibus, qui sibi relinqui debeat. Solitudo omnia persuadet.

Right thus to dispose of Themselves. And they who presume to do it merely out of private Considerations, and make the Publick no part of their Concern, are so far from deserving to be applauded for their Virtue and Resignation, that they are guilty of a great Fault, and liable to very just and severe Censure.

C H A P. LV.

A Life in Common, compared with That of distinct Properties.

SOME Persons have been of Opinion, that a *Life*, where all Things are *in Common*, and there is no such Distinction as *Mine* or *Thine*, hath the greatest Tendency to Perfection, and is best accommodated for the cherishing and maintaining of Charity and Concord, and Union among Men. But Experience shews us daily, that whatever Conveniencies it may really have of this kind, yet are they not so great, nor so effectual to the Purposes before-mention'd, as those Persons have imagined. For in the first Place, whatever Appearance there may be outwardly of Kindness and good Agreement, yet there is no such Thing as an entire and hearty Affection, nor the same tender Regards for That which is in Common, as a Man finds where he alone is concern'd. To this purpose it is, that we have two Proverbs, *The College Horse is always ill saddled*, and *Every Body's Business, is No Body's Business*. Men consider, that Others are equally concern'd in the Care, and in the Damage; that the Loss is not immediately their own, and that each Member of the Society stands in that respect equal-

Acts vi.

ly related to them, and that begets a Coldness and Indifferency among them. But, which is a great deal worse, this State does naturally produce Quarrels and Discontents, Murmuring and mutual Hatred ; every Community is but too full a Demonstration of it, and the very Holiest and Best that ever was, the Primitive Church it self, could not, you see, be exempted from the Misfortune. For, though the Institution design all Things should be equal, yet unless you could make the Desires of the Persons so too, they will always be full of Complaints, and Jealous, that some are preferred, and others neglected ; like the *Grecians* and their Widows in the Daily Distributions. The Nature of *Love*, is like that of Great Rivers ; which, while they continue united in one Stream are Navigable, and carry Vessels of Vast Burden ; but if you cut them into fresh Channels, and divide the Water, they are no longer Serviceable in that kind ; and thus, when Men's Affections are divided, and parted, as it were among a great many Objects, not any one of those Persons or Things is of very tender Concern ; for all the Force and Vigour of the Passion is scattered and broke to Pieces. Now, in a *Life of Community*, there are several Degrees ; *To live*, that is, to eat and drink together at a common Table, is very decent and well, (Thus we find it practised in some of the best and most ancient Commonwealths, as *Lacedemon* and *Crete* particularly) such publick Meals are very useful for the teaching Men to be modest and reserved, and keeping up Discipline, Society, and Good Order ; and they do also minister occasion for great variety of very useful and improving Discourse. But to think of pulling up the Fences and Inclosures, and lay all in Common, is a wild Imagination. *Plato* was once of this Opinion, but he thought better of it afterwards. And indeed the Project would

would be so far from reconciling and uniting All, that the certain Consequence of it would be to overturn and confound All.

C H A P. LVI.

A Town and a Country Life compared together.

THis is a Comparison very easie for any Man who is a true Lover of Wisdom, to make; for almost all the Advantages lie on one side. The Pleasures and Conveniences both of Body and Mind, Liberty, Contemplation, Innocence, Health, and Delight. In the *Country* a Man's Mind is free and easie; discharg'd, and at his own Disposol: But in the *City* the Persons of Friends and Acquaintance, one's own and other People's Business, foolish Quarrels, ceremonious Visits, impertinent Discourse, and a Thousand other Fopperies and Diversions steal away the greatest part of our Time, and leave no Leisure for better and more necessary Employment. What infinite Perplexities, Avocations, Distractions of the Mind, and, which is worst of all, what abominable Debaucheries, and Depravation of Manners does such a Life expose Men to? Great Towns are but a larger sort of Prisons to the Soul, like Cages to Birds, or Pounds to Beasts. This Celestial Fire within us will not endure to be shut up, it requires Air to brighten and make it burn clear; which made *Columella* say, that a Country Life is Cousin-German to Wisdom: for a Man's Thoughts cannot be idle; and when they are set loose from the World, they will range and expatiate freely in noble and profitable Meditations. But how shall a

Man hope to command his Thoughts, or pretend to call them his Own, in the midst of all the Clutter, and Business, the Amusements, nay the Confusions of the Town? A Country Life is infinitely more plain, and innocent, and disposed to Purity and Virtue. In Cities Vice assembles in Troops; the very Commonness of it makes it unobserv'd; it hardens and reconciles us to the Practice, Example, and Custom; and the meeting with it at every Turn, makes the thing familiar; and thus the Disease seizes us strongly and presently, and we are gone all on the sudden, by living in the midst of the Infection. Whereas in the Country, those Things are seen or heard with Abhorrence and Amazement, which the Town sees and does every Day without Remorse or Concern. As for Pleasure and Health, the clear Air, the Warmth and Brightness of the Sun, not polluted with the Sultry Gleams, and loathsome Stenches of the Town; the Springs and Waters, the Flowers and Groves, and, in short, All Nature is free, and easie, and gay; The Earth unlocks her Treasures, refreshes us with her Fruits, feeds every Sense, and gives us such Entertainment, as Cities know nothing of, in the stifling press of Houses; so that to live there, is to shut one's self up, and be banish'd from the World. Besides all this, a Country Retirement is more active and fit for Exercise; and this creates an Appetite, preserves and restores Health and Vigour, hardens the Body, and makes it lusty and strong. The greatest Commendation of the Town is, Convenience for Business and Profit. It is indeed the Seat of Trade and private Gain, and therefore fit to be the Darling of Merchants and Artificers: And it is the Place accommodated to Publick Administrations; but this latter but a very small part of Mankind are call'd to, or capable of. And History tells us, that heretofore excellent Persons were

were fetch'd out of the Country, to undertake Affairs of the greatest Importance ; and as soon as they had finish'd these, they retir'd again with wonderful Delight, and made the Town not a Matter of Choice, but Necessity and Constraint : This was the short Scene of Labour and Business to them ; but the Country was the Seat of their Pleasure, and more constant Residence.

C H A P. LVII.

Of a Military Life.

THE Profession and Employment of a *Soldier*, if we respect the Cause and Original Design of it, is very worthy and honourable ; for it pretends to protect the Safety, and promote the Grandeur of one's native Country ; to preserve it in Peace, and guard it from the Insults of Enemies abroad, and turbulent Spirits at home ; than which nothing can be more just, nothing more universally beneficial. It is also noble and great in the Execution of this Design : For *Courage*, which is its proper Quality and Character, is the bravest, most generous, most Heroick of all Virtues ; And of all Humane Actions and Exploits, Those of War are the most celebrated and pompous ; insomuch that the Titles and Ensigns of Honour, borrow their Names from, and are assign'd as Rewards to Them. It hath also many Pleasures peculiar to it ; the Conversation of Men of the first Quality, in heat of Youth, and full of Fire and Activity ; the being familiarly acquainted with strange Accidents, and wonderful entertaining Sights ; freedom of Behaviour, and Converse without Trick or Art ; a Masculine

culine and hardy way of living, above Ceremony or Form; Variety of Attempts and Successes: The moving Harmony of warlike Musick, which entertains the Ears, charms all the Senses, warms the Soul, and inspires it with Valour; the Gracefulness of Motion and Discipline, that transports and delight us with a pleasing Horrour; that Storm of Shouts and Alarms, which the louder it grows, the more ravishing and animating it is; and the roaring Ordinance of so many Thousand Men that fall on with incredible Fury and Eagerness.

But when all These, and as many more Excellencies as its most zealous Patrons can attribute to this *Calling*, have been allow'd, every reasonable Man must acknowledge on the other hand, that the Plundering, Undoing, Murdering one another, and especially the making These a Matter of Art, and Study; a Science and a Commendation, seems highly unnatural, and the effect of Barbarity and Madness. Nothing is a stronger Evidence against Mankind, of their Weakness, and Imperfection, and foul Degeneracy; for it sets us below the very Brutes themselves, in the most savage of which the Original Impressions of Nature are not defac'd to this scandalous Degree. What an infinite Folly, what an execrable Rage is it, to create all this Disturbance, and turn the World upside-down, to encounter and run thro' so many Hazards by Sea and Land, for a Prize so very doubtful and full of Chance, as the Event of a Battle? Why should we make Campaigns abroad, and turn Volunteers to foreign Princes, to run with so much Eagerness and Appetite after Death, (which may be found, nay, which of its own accord meets us at home, and offers it self every where) and that without proposing to our selves so much as decent Burial? To fall on, and kill Men that we have no Spite, no Resentment against; nay, Men that are absolute

lute Strangers, and whom we never saw in all our Lives? Why this mighty Heat and Fury, to one that hath done thee no hurt, given thee no provocation? What a Madness is it to venture Loss of Limbs and Blood, Wounds and Bruises, which when they do not take Life quite away, make it subject to Remedies and Pains a Thousand times more grievous and insupportable than Death? Had you Obligations of Duty and Conscience, it were another Matter; but to do this for Breeding and Fame; to sacrifice and destroy one's self for a Man that you never saw, who hath no manner of Tenderness or Concern for you; and only strives to mount upon the dead or maim'd Body, that he may stand a little higher, and enlarge his own Prospect; Nothing but very weighty Reasons, and the necessary Defence of all that is dear to us, can make such an Undertaking prudent and commendable: And in such Cases all personal Considerations ought to be despised as much as otherwise they are fit to be valu'd. And I hope too, the Reader takes notice all along, that I speak of those who choose the Trade for Mercenary Ends, or out of false Notions of Gallantry; and not with any Intention to discourage the Duty of Subjects to their Prince, whose just Quarrels they ought always to account their Own.

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The Fifth and Last Difference between Some Men and Others; taken from the Advantages and Disadvantages, by which Nature or Fortune hath distinguished them.

P R E F A C E.

THis Last Distinction is abundantly notorious, and visible to every Eye; It hath indeed several Branches and Considerations included under it; but all I think may be conveniently enough reduced to Two General Heads; which, according to the vulgar way of Expression, may be termed, Happiness and Unhappiness; being High or Low in the World. To that of Happiness or Greatness, belong Health, Beauty, and other Qualifications and Advantages of Body and Person, Liberty, Nobility, Honour, Authority, Learning, Riches, Reputation, Friends. In Unhappiness or Meanness of Condition are comprehended the Contraries of all These, which, without naming particularly, we easily understand to be the privation or want of the foremention'd Advantages. Now these Particulars are the occasion of infinite variety in Men's Circumstances and Conditions of Life; for a Man may be happy in the Enjoyment of One, or Two, or Three of these Qualities, and yet not so in the rest; and even in
Those

Those he hath, he may be happy in a greater or less Degree; and those Degrees are capable of being so many, that it is not easie, if at all possible, to express or conceive them. But upon the whole Matter, in the Distribution and Disposal of our Fortunes and Affairs, Providence hath so ordered it, that Few or None should be either happy or unhappy in every one of these Respects. He then that partakes of most, and particularly those Three Advantages, of Nobility, Dignity or Authority, and Riches, is esteem'd Great; and he that hath none of those Three is reckoned among the mean Men. But several Persons have only One or Two of the Three; and so they stand in a sort of middle Capacity, between the two Extremes, and are neither High nor Low. We will speak very briefly to each of them.

As for Health and Beauty, and other Advantages that relate to the Body and Persons of Men, enough hath been said of them already; and so likewise of Sickness and Pain, which are Disadvantages contrary to them.

Chap. VI.
Chap. X.

C H A P. LVIII.

Of Liberty and Servitude.

L*iberty* passes in the Esteem of many for a most eminent Advantage, and *Servitude* for a very grievous Evil; so exceeding great, that some have rather chosen to Die, and that after a very barbarous and painful manner, than to be made Slaves or Captives; nay, rather than come into any danger of seeing their own, or their Country's Freedom and Properties infringed, or usurp'd upon. But as in all Other Cases of the like Nature, so in This also, there may be a very Criminal Excess of Par-

Partiality, and a fanciful Fondness of what we deservedly have a high esteem for. There is in truth a *Twofold Liberty*: the true and proper sort is That of the Mind ; for This is in every Man's own Keeping and Disposal, no Body can wrest it out of our Hands, nothing can impair or encroach upon it, not even the Tyranny of Fortune it self. On the other side, The *Bondage of the Mind* is the heaviest, and most wretched of all others ; to live a Slave to one's Appetites and Lusts ; to lie down in our Chains, and let our Passions prey upon us ; to be led by the Nose by Prejudice, and Error, and Superstition : Oh This ! This is a miserable Captivity indeed. The *Liberty of one's Person* is really valuable, but still that lies at the Mercy of Fortune. And as valuable as it is, yet (unless it be attended with some very uncommon Circumstance to enhance its Worth) there can never be Justice or Reason in giving it the Preference above Life it self ; as some of the Ancients have done, who chose to suffer, nay, to inflict Death, and make it the Work of their Own Hands upon Themselves, rather than not die free : And even of this (to me seeming) Extravagance we find large Commendations, as if it were a more exalted Virtue than ordinary, so very dreadful Notions had they then of *Slavery*. * *It is* (says One of them) *the Obedience of an enfeebled and despicable Soul, that hath parted with its own Will.* And yet as vile as they represent this State, very great and very wise Men have liv'd in it ; as *Regulus, Valerian, Plato, Epictetus* ; and have had the Misfortune too of very wicked, unjust, and barbarous Masters ; and yet they have never brought any dishonourable Reflections upon their Virtues, or thought Themselves one

* *Servitus obedientia est fracti & abjecti Animi, arbitrio carentis suo.*

whit the worſe for it, becauſe in truth and very deed, they ſtill continu'd Free, and at their own Diſpoſal ; much more ſo than the Maſters, who pretended to Dominion over them.

C H A P. LIX.

Of Nobility.

Nobility is a Quality or Diſtinction receiv'd and valu'd in all Parts of the World : It is a Mark and an Attractive of Honour and Reſpect, inſtituted and brought into Uſe for very good Reaſons, and much to the Benefit of the Publick. I.

It is not every where the ſame ; but differently reputed, and taken in divers Senſes, according to the different Judgments of Men, and the Customs of the Countries where they live. From hence we find ſeveral Sorts or Species of it pretended to ; but according to the common and moſt general Notion of the thing, it is the Quality of a Man's Family. *Ariſtotle* calls it, the *Antiquity of the Family*, and the *long Continuance of an Eſtate in it*. *Plutarch* terms it the *Virtue of the Family* ; meaning by this, ſome certain Character, and particular good Quality, for which our Anceſtors were eminent, and which hath been propagated in Succeſſion, and is continu'd in the ſeveral Deſcendents of that Houſe. Now what this Quality is in particular, which ſhould merit ſuch a Diſtinction, hath not been agreed on all hands. Some, and indeed the greater part, will have it to be Atchievements in War ; others add, or equal to this, Politick and Civil Prudence ; whereby Men become neceſſary to the State by their Counſels, as the former do in the 2.
Description
of it.

the Field: To These have likewise been added Eminence in Learning, and particular Offices in the Courts of Princes, as Accomplishments thought fit and sufficient to distinguish a Man's Family, and derive Honour down upon Those that descend from him. But I think it must be acknowledg'd by all considering Persons, that the Military Honours have the Advantage, and deserve a Preference above all the rest, both because the Qualities of this kind are most serviceable to the State in its greatest Exigencies and Distresses; and because it is the most painful and laborious, and exposes Men's Persons to the greatest and most apparent Dangers. From whence it is, that a particular Veneration and Respect, a louder Applause and Commendation is allowed universally to Them; and that These by way of Eminence and Privilege, have attain'd to that distinguishing Character of Valour or Worth. Now according to this Opinion, Two things are necessary, and must both contribute as Ingredients to the Composition of that which is the *True and Perfect Nobility*. First, There must be the Profession and Appearance of this Virtue or good Quality serviceable to the Publick, and this is as it were the Form; and then there must be the Family, in which, as in the Matter or proper Subject, this Quality is inherent; that is, there is requir'd a long uninterrupted Continuation of it, thro' several Descents, and Time out of mind. Hence, according to the vulgar Jargon, they are stiled *Gentlemen*, that is, Persons who are Branches and Descendents of the same Blood, and House; bearing the same Name, and the same Profession of this distinguishing Quality, for several Generations. That Person then is truly, properly, and entirely Noble, who makes singular Profession of some Publick Virtue; that renders himself useful and remarkable in the Service of his Prince and his Country; and is
sprung

sprung from Relations and Ancestors, who have done the same before him, in the respective Ages when they liv'd.

Some, it is true, have separated these two Qualifications, and consider'd them apart ; as being of ^{3.} *This distinction* Opinion, that One of these singly, that is, *Personal* ^{guished.} *Virtue* and Worth, without any Advantages of *Birth*, is sufficient to entitle a Man to this Honour. They think it hard that Men should be excluded, merely upon Consideration of their Ancestors wanting the Excellencies, which they have rendred Themselves conspicuous for. Now This is a *Personal* and *Acquir'd Nobility* ; and very valuable it is ; but yet the Vogue and Custom of the World hath so far obtain'd, that They think it very hard too, for the Son of a Cobler, a Butcher, or a Plough-Man, to start up Noble, and be rank'd among the most Ancient Honours, let his Service to the Publick have been never so great and valuable. But yet this Opinion hath got good Footing in several Nations, and particularly among the *Turks*. For they have no regard at all to a Man's *Blood*, the Nobility of his Ancestors, or the Antiquity of his Descent ; They look upon These Considerations to be full of unreasonable Partiality, Checks and Discouragements to Men's Bravery ; and therefore, to cherish the Inclinations of doing Gloriously, they lay the whole Stress upon Personal Performances and Accomplishments ; and particularly upon Actual Courage, and those Excellencies that are purely Military. The other Part of this Distinction, is That which consists in the *Antiquity* of a Man's *Family* only, where the Pretensions to *Nobility* are merely upon the Account of his *Progenitors*, without any Profession of such a Quality as was before mention'd and explain'd ; and this is a *Nobility* which runs in the *Blood*, and is purely Natural.

4.
Of Natural
Nobility.

If we would state the Comparison between these Two Sorts thus divided, and each imperfect, when single and by it self, That which is purely Natural cannot but appear to any Man of sound Judgment, the less worth and more defective of the Two, tho' a great many People think, or at least express themselves, otherwise upon the Matter : But it is the effect of most egregious Folly, or insufferable Vanity so to do. The *Natural* is an Accomplishment entirely anothers, and not in any Degree one's own.

*For Ancestors Divine Original,
And Deed not done by Us, we Ours miscall.* Sandys.

No other Person hath lived for our Honour ; nor ought that to be reputed Ours, which was, long before we had a Being ; And what can be more senseless, than for a Man to look big, and to value Himself upon a thing which is none of His ? This is what may happen to the most vicious and profligate, the most trifling and insignificant Wretch alive ; it may be the Portion of Fools, and Knaves, and Villains. Nor is it of any manner of Use or Advantage to Others ; It is not capable of being communicated to the Profit of those with whom we have any Dealings or Conversation ; It contributes nothing of Pleasure or Satisfaction in Society, as Learning, and Justice, and Goodness, and Beauty, and Riches do, but is perfectly idle and fruitless. Those who have nothing else to recommend Them to the Respect of Others, but only This Nobility of Flesh and Blood, cry it up at a great rate, and have their

* Genus & Proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra voco. *Ovid.*

*Nemo vixit in gloriam nostram ; nec quod ante nos fuit,
nostrum est.*

Mouths

Mouths perpetually full of it. They swell, and vapour, and you are sure to hear of their Families and great Relations every third Word. And indeed they do wisely, and as becomes them; for This is making the best of their last and only Stake. And by this Mark they commonly distinguish Themselves; for you may depend upon it, there is no good Bottom, nothing of true Worth of their own, when they insist so much, and rest their Credit upon that of other Men. But alas! this is all Vanity and Shadow, and their Glory will be as fleeting and frail, as that which the Prophet reproaches *Ephraim* with, when it arises from such mean and wretched Instruments, as *from the Earth, and from the Womb, and from the Conception*; and lies all bury'd in Dust and Rubbish, underneath the Monuments of their Ancestors. These Men are like Criminals when they are hard pursu'd, that take sanctuary at the Altars and Sepulchres of the Dead; and in some former Ages, laid hold on the Statues of the Emperours for Refuge; so when they are beaten out from all Pretensions to true Merit and Honour, from any Qualifications properly their Own, they retreat behind the Banners and Achievements of their Fore-fathers, and make their last Recourse to *Monuments, and Pedigrees, and Coats of Arms*. But what Advantage can it be to a Blind-Man, that his Parents had good Eyes? Or, how does it help the Infirmities of a Stammerer, that his Grandfather had a smooth and voluble Tongue? Does the former of These see one whit the better? or is the latter ever the more eloquent or intelligible for This? And yet they are the Men of Infirmities and great Defects, that are commonly your vain Boasters, haughty in their Deportment, insolent in Conversation, and treating with Contempt Men better than Themselves, because some Body who is long since rotten in their Grave, was good

Hosea ix.
11.

in his Generation : So extremely absurd, and contrary to all the Rules of Equity and Common Sense, is this extravagant Notion of *Nobility* by *Descent* only. A Father by his Frugality and Prudence raised the Family ; and therefore the Prodigal Son, who squanders all away, and beggars the Family, values himself upon the Prudence of his Father. A brave General deserv'd the first and best Promotion, and therefore his Great-Grandson, though a rank Coward, shall not only inherit his Titles and Estate, (in which there may be reason, because Men esteem Themselves rewarded by the Continuance of those external Forms and Honours to their Posterity) but this Coward shall really think himself a better Man than another brave Fellow with whom he converses, because his Great-Grandther was brave. And yet, as extravagant as this Folly is in it self, it will be, and always hath been Epidemical. For *Salust* observ'd even in his Time,
** That Pride and a Disdainful Temper, was an Evil that usually went along with Quality and good Birth.*

5.
*Acquired
 and Per-
 sonal.*

As for that other kind of *Nobility*, which is *Personal* and *Acquired*, the Condition of it is the very Reverse of the Former. It hath very excellent Qualities and Effects ; It is peculiar to the Possessor ; he hath a full and indisputable Title, and Merit hath made it all his Own : It cannot be dispensed promiscuously, nor fall upon a Man that will be a Dishonour to it ; and It is of infinite Benefit and Advantage to all who converse, or can any way come to be concern'd with it. Nay, if we examine the Matter, it will be found that This hath the Advantage, even in the darling and so much-boasted Point of Antiquity too ; and we are very sure, by sad Experience, that it is much

* *Contemptor animus & superbia commune nobilitatis malum.*
 more

more rare and uncommon than the Natural. For from This it was, that the *Natural* first took its beginning; the so much celebrated Ancestors got their *Nobility* this way; and their degenerate Offspring are beholding to it in the Persons of Them, for all the Subject of their Vanity ever since. In short; This is real and substantial, it consists in Virtue, and Usefulness, and good Consequences to all Mankind; not empty, and dry, and a gay Idea; a Dream, and Creature of a deluded Imagination only: This proceeds from the Mind and the very Man, not from the Blood and Body; and Minds are the same; every whit as generous and great, and by Improvement and Industry frequently rendred more so in Others; tho' the Blood may differ, and not be Noble. * *Who* (says *Seneca*) *is a Gentleman? The Man, whom Nature hath disposed, and as it were cut out for Virtue; this Man is well born indeed: For the Man wants nothing else to make him Noble, who hath a Mind so generous, that he can rise above, and triumph over Fortune, let his Condition of Life be what it will.*

But these Two kinds dwell most amicably together, and often meet in the same Person, (as indeed there seems a great Aptitude and Disposition for them to do) and when they center thus in one Person, then the *Nobility* is perfect and complete. The *Natural* is an Introduction, an Occasion, a Spur to the *Personal*; for all things have a strong tendency, and very easily revert to their first and natural Principle. And as the *Natural* first took its Origine and Existence from the *Personal*, so it inclines and leads the Persons so descended to imitate, nay, to emulate the Glories of their Noble

6.

Both together.

* *Quis generosus? Ad Virtutem à Naturâ bene compositus, Animus facit nobilem, cui ex quâcunque conditione supra fortunam liceat surgere.*

Progenitors. The Seeds of Virtue and Honour are in them already.

** In Sons Their Father's Virtues shine,
And Souls as well as Faces keep the Line.*

This one Advantage is observable in being Nobly born, that it makes Men sensible they are ally'd to Virtue, and lays strong Obligations upon them not to degenerate from the Excellencies of their Ancestors. And sure there cannot be a more forcible Motive to spur and quicken Men in the pursuit of Glory, and the attempting Great and Noble Actions, than the being conscious to Themselves, that they are come out of the Loins of those very Persons, who have behaved themselves gallantly, served their King and Country, and been eminent and useful in their Generations. Is it possible Men can please Themselves with these Reflections to feed their Vanity, as it is manifest they do, and not think at the same time how vile and reproachful it is in Them, to bastardize and bely their Race, to serve only as a Foil to their Forefather's Virtues, and cast back Darknes and Disgrace upon the Lustre of their Memories?

Nobility granted by the particular Patent, and partial Favour of a Prince, without any Merit to give a Title to it, and neither personal Accomplishments, nor an ancient Family to support and set it off, is rather a Blemish and Mark of Shame, than of Honour. It is a poor, pitiful, Parchment-Nobility; bought to supply a needy King, or to feed a hungry Courtier; the Price of Silver and Gold, or the effect of Countenance and Access; not the purchase of Blood and Sweat, as such Honours ought to be. But if it be granted

** Fortes creantur Fortibus & Bonis, &c. Horat. Ode 4. Lib. 4.*

for any singular Desert, and signal good Services, then it falls not within the compass of this Notion ; but is to be reputed personal and acquired, and hath a Right to all those Privileges and Commendations, which were said to belong to that sort of Nobility before.

C H A P. LX.

Of Honour.

IT is the Notion of some, but a very mistaken Notion sure it is, That Honour is the proper Price and Recompenſe of Virtue. Others have a little corrected this Notion, by calling it, the Acknowledgment of Virtue in the Persons to whom we pay it, or the Prerogative of a good Opinion first, and then of those outward Respects, whereby we testify that good Opinion ; for it is most certainly a Privilege that derives its Essence and Nature Principally from Virtue. Others call it Virtue's Shadow, which follows, or goes before it ; as the Shadow does the Substance and Body from whence it is reflected. But, to speak more properly, it is the Splendor or Fame of brave and virtuous Actions, darted out from the Soul upon the Eyes of the World, and then rebounding back again upon our selves, by that Demonstration it gives of what others think of us, and the mighty Satisfaction of the Mind resulting from this Sense of their Good Esteem.

Now, *Honour* is so very highly esteemed, so very eagerly sought, that we generally balk no Difficulty to come at it. We endure any thing for its sake, despise every thing in Comparison of it ; even Life it self is not thought a Purchase too

Dear to compass it. And yet after All, This is but a thin, airy Business, uncertain and fickle ; foreign and at some distance from the Person receiving it, and the Things for which it is paid. It is not only not Essential to him, not any Part or Appurtenance of his Person, and Substance, but it scarce ever comes home to him. For, generally speaking, this Deference is given to Persons either Absent or Dead ; and if Living, it is not accounted good Manners to praise them to their Faces ; so that it waits without, and belongs to a Man's Name only ; which bears all his Commendations and Disgraces, his Scandal, and his Respects ; from whence one is said to bear a *Good* or *Wicked Name*.

Now, the *Name* is no part of the *Nature of the Thing*, but only the Image which gives us a Representation of it. A Mark of Distinction, to know it from other Things by : In a Word, somewhat that goes between the *Essence* of the Thing, and the *Honour* or *Dishonour* belonging to it. For it is applied to the Substance, and whatever is said of it, Good, or Bad, falls upon This ; and is born by it. Now *Honour*, before it rests upon the Name, fetches a kind of Circular Flight ; and makes some stay upon the Action, the Heart and the Tongue. Whatever gallant, commendable Action is Atchieved, is, as it were, the Root, the Source, the Parent which gives Birth and Being to Honour ; for in truth, *Honour is nothing else, but the Lustre and Resplendence of some Glorious, or Beneficial, or otherwise, Noble Exploit*. Whatever Perfection a Thing hath in it self, with regard to its own Intrinsic Worth ; yet if it do not produce some Effect, which is Excellent, it is not capable of Honour ; but, to all Intents and Purposes of this kind, as if it had never been at all. The next Advance is made into the Mind, where it first begins to live, and is form'd into good Opinions,
and

and Venerable Esteem. Then it comes abroad in the last Place, and rides Triumphant upon Men's Tongues and Pens; and so reflects and returns back again, upon the Name of the Person, who did that Celebrated Action, from whence it first set out (as the Sun returns Daily to the Point from whence his Motion began,) and when it hath finish'd this Course, it from thenceforth carries the Name of *Honour*, Praise, Glory, Renown, or the like.

But to what Sorts of Performances this Recompence is due, hath been a Question much disputed. Some Persons have delivered their Opinion, that Honour does not only, nor properly consist in a Man's behaving himself well, where great and difficult Posts are to be filled and managed by him (for every Man's Circumstances will not furnish him with Opportunities of weighty Administrations) but in the faithful Discharge of the Duties of each Person's particular Profession, be the Capacity of the Man what it will. For all Commendation is the Effect and Reward of a Man's performing commendably, that which is his proper Business to do. Thus we find Reason and Common Sense, determine us in Publick Theatres, which are but so many Images in little of this Great Theatre of the Universe. The Condition and Splendor of the Character is not enquired into, nor weighs at all with our Judgments; but He, who upon the Stage, plays the Part of a Servant or Buffoon, if he do it well, and to the Life, meets with as much Applause, as if he had represented a General, or an Emperour. And he that cannot work in Gold, if he shew the Perfection of his Art, and carve the Postures and Proportions well, in Copper, or in Plaister, is reputed a good Statuary; because this Excellence depends not upon the Fineness or Value of the Materials, but in
the

the Skill shewed upon them. But yet it seems more reasonable to think, that Honour is an Advantage for something more Noble and Sublime than Ordinary ; and that no Actions, but such only, which have Difficulty or Danger in them, can make just Pretensions to it. Those that are but just what they ought to be, such as our respective Stations require, and proceeding from a Sense of Obligation and Duty, cannot aspire to so great Worth, nor put in for so ample a Reward ; a Reward which is disparaged by being made Common or Ordinary, and not suited to all Degrees of Persons and Performances. Thus every virtuous and chaste Wife, and every Man of Integrity and good Conduct, is not therefore a Person of Honour. For there must go more than Probity to the denominating them so ; there must be Pains, and Difficulty, and Danger ; nay, and, some will tell you, there must be somewhat of general Good, and Advantage to the Publick, to justify that Character in its full and true Extent. Let a Man's Actions be never so Good, never so Useful, if they be private and the Advantage redound to himself alone, another sort of Payment belongs to them. They will have the Approbation of his own Conscience ; they will procure the Love, and Favour, and good Word of his Neighbours and Acquaintance ; they will ensure his Safety, and put him under the Protection of the Law ; but except the Influence and Advantage of them be large and diffusive, they cannot come up to Honour ; for Honour is a publick Thing, and implies more of Dignity ; and comprehends Splendor and Noise, Admiration, and Common Fame in the Nature and Notion of it. Others add farther, that an Honourable Action must not be a part of our Duty, but perfectly free and supererogating ; for if Men were obliged to it, all Pretension to Honour is lost.

The

The Desire of Honour, and Glory; and a Solicitous seeking the Approbation and good Opinion of Others, is a very vicious, violent and powerful Passion. The Inordinacy whereof hath been sufficiently explained and proved already in the Chapter concerning Ambition. But as Bad as it is in it self, it does great Service to the Publick. For it restrains Mens Extravagancies, and keeps them within the Bounds of Decency and Duty; it awakens their sleeping Powers, shakes off Sloth, and kindles in them generous Desires, inspires great Thoughts, and Glorious Actions. Not that it is much for their Credit to be acted and invigorated by so corrupt a Principle; but rather a Testimony and strong Evidence of the Weakness and Poverty of our Nature and Condition; who are thus forced to use and accept clipt and counterfeit Money in Payment, when Standard and true Sterling cannot be had. But for the Determining precisely in what Cases, and how far this Passion is excusable, and where it is to blame, and must be rejected and disallow'd; and for the making it manifest, that Honour is not the proper Recompence of Virtue, I must refer you to those Distinctions and Discourses upon it, which will occur hereafter.

Book III.
*In the Vir-
tue of Tem-
perance,*
Ch. XLII.

Of the Marks of Honour there is great Variety; but the most desirable and charming, are Those, where there are no Mixtures of private Gain and Interest; such as nothing can be drawn out of, nor any Share lie in Common, for the Advantage of a Vicious Man; or of such low and inferiour People, as shall pretend to serve the Publick by mean and dishonourable Offices. The less of Advantage they bring with them, the more Valuable they are. And accordingly we find the Ancients infinitely fond of, and with all their Industry and Pains, aspiring after those, which had nothing else
to

to recommend them, but purely their being Marks of Distinction, and Characteristical Notes of Honour and Virtue. Of this Nature in the several Republicks of old, were the Garlands of Laurel and Oaken-Leaves, (and so are the particular "Bearings in Coats of Arms at this Day, added "to the former Charges of the Field, upon some "special Piece of Service) distinct Habits, and Robes ; the Prerogative of some Surname, as *Africanus* to *Scipio*, and the like : Precedence and Place in Publick Assemblies, and Orders of Knighthood. It may also fall out, that, when a Man's Deserts are Notorious and Celebrated, it shall be more for his Honour, not to have these Ensigns and Marks, than to have them. And therefore *Cato* said well, that it would make more for the Glory of his Name and Virtues, that People should ask why the City had not erected a Statue to his Memory in the Forum, than that they should enquire, why they had done it.

C H A P. LXI.

Of Learning.

Learning is, without all Dispute, a Noble and Beautiful Ornament ; an Instrument of exceeding Use, when in the Hands of one, that hath the Skill to use it aright. But what Place and Proportion it deserves in our Esteem, is a Matter not so generally agreed upon. And here, as in all Cases of the like Nature, Men fall into Extremes, and are to blame in both ; Some in overvaluing, and Others in disparaging and undervaluing it. Some run it up to that Extravagant Height,

Height, that they will not allow any other Advantage to come near, or be thought comparable to it; They look upon it, as the Supreme Happiness; a Ray and Efflux of the Divinity; they hunt after it with Eagerness and insatiable Appetite; with vast Expence, and indefatigable Labour and Pains; and are content to part with Ease, and Health, and every Thing in exchange for it. Others as much diminish and despise it; treat Those with Scorn who make it their Business and Profession. And when we have observed this of either side, I suppose my Reader will make no Difficulty to allow, that a Moderation between both is best, most safe, most just and reasonable. I, for my own part, were I to execute the Herald's Office in this Dispute, should think that Place is without all question due to Integrity and Prudence, to Health and Wisdom, and Virtue, nay, I should not scruple to give Precedence to Skill and Dexterity in Business: But then for Dignity, and Noble Descent, and Military Valour, I should think they might go together Hand in Hand, or leave them to dispute the Priority out among Themselves: But if I were press'd, and must deliver my Sense freely and particularly, sure it is equal in Honour to These, or at least the very next after them.

Now, as Sciences differ from each other, according to the Subjects of which they treat, and the Matters they are employed about; and also in the Manner of acquiring, and attaining to a Mastery in them; so do they likewise in the Usefulness, the Reputableness, the Necessity, the Decency, the Fame, and the Gain of them. Some are purely Speculative, and aim at nothing farther, than merely Contemplation, the entertaining, informing, improving, brightening our Intellectual Faculties. Others are Practical, and lead us directly on to Action. Some again are Real,
and

See Book
III. ch. 14.

and Converfant in Things ; they bring us acquainted with Matters that are without us, either Natural or Supernatural Objects ; Others are Nominal, They concern Discourse only, teach us Languages, explain Terms of Arts, help us to exprefs our felves properly, and to reason regularly and clofely. Now, from this fhort Account, we may boldly fay, That upon a Review of the foregoing Diffinctions, Thofe Sciences, which are moft Manly and Reputable, moft Ufeful, moft Neceffary, and have leaft of Glory, and Vanity, and fordid mercenary Profit attending them, are infinitely Preferable to the reft. By the fame reason then it follows beyond all Contradiction, that the Practical Sciences are of all others the moft excellent ; fuch as propofe the Good and Happinefs of Man for their End, and direct all their Instructions thither ; that teach us to live, and to die well ; to command and govern, to fubmit and obey as becomes us ; and therefore Thefe are worthy our moft ferious Application : Who ever pretends to Wisdom, muft lay out his Study and his Time here ; and of fuch, this Book is design'd to be a Compendious, Summary and Abridgment : that is, of Morals, Oeconomicks, and Politicks ; the Firft for governing our Selves well ; the Second for managing our Domeftick Affairs, and prefiding over our Families well ; and the Third for difcharging our publick Offices well, if we be call'd to any Part in the Adminiftration of the Government ; or if we be private and fubordinate only in both the laft Capacities, then to confider and make good the Duties incumbent upon any the meaneft and moft inferior Character. Next to thefe Practical Sciences, the Natural are to be regarded and efteemed, which let us into the Knowledge of this System, and Fabrick of the Universe, and the infinite Variety of Creatures contained

tained in it; and that, both for our own Use and Benefit, so far as they can be serviceable to us, and also to excite our Wonder, and Praise, and most Humble Adoration of His incomprehensible Majesty, and Goodness, and Wisdom, and Power, who is the Great Master-Builder, the constant Preserver and Governour of All, and every Part of it. As for all the rest, they are empty and frothy Things in Comparifon; and though we may call in upon them by the by, and for a little while, yet ought we not to fet up our Rest there, nor make them the Business of our Lives; because the Use and Effect of them is of no great Consideration, and they contribute nothing at all towards the making us one whit better Men. To what purpose then is all that Time, and Trouble, and Expence, and how can we think it otherwise than lost, or misemploy'd, which we see studious Men sometimes lay out so liberally upon them? It is true, they may serve to get Money, or to raise something of a Reputation among the People, but it is where Men are ignorant or ill-governed only: For otherwise they will seek and encourage such Studies, as bring solid Comforts and Advantages, and are built upon a firm Bottom.

C H A P. LXII.

Of Riches and Poverty.

THese are the two Foundations and Beginnings, the Root and Source of all the Troubles and Calamities, the Disorders and Disturbances, that confound, and put the World out of Course: For excess of Plenty and Riches exalts and puffs up the Possessors, renders them haughty and insolent, swells them with Pride and Disdain, prompts them to Luxury and Extravagance, to Sensuality and all manner of unlawful Pleasures; encourages them to use their Inferiours contemptuously, and to insult over their Wants and their Miseries; makes them bold and daring, and in confidence of their Power, puts them upon seditious and dangerous Attempts. The extreme Poverty of Others subdues and dejects their Spirits, poysons them with Envy and restless Jealousie, with Indignation and Spight, Discontent and Despair; and, since Matters, they think, cannot be worse, provokes them to try their Fortunes, and make a desperate Push, in hopes they may be better. *Plato* calls the Poor the *Bane and Plague of a Commonwealth*. So that both these sorts of Men are very dangerous; but whether of the Two is more so, Considering People have not agreed. *Aristotle* is of Opinion, that *Abundance* is more formidable to the Publick, than *Want*; for the State hath not much to fear from Them who desire no more than a bare Subsistence; but it hath reason to be jealous of Those, whose Wealth makes them Ambitious and Aspiring; and whose Interest and Authority,
upon

upon the account of that Wealth, gives them Power and Opportunities to be very troublesome. *Plato* thinks Poverty the worse; for when poor People are grown desperate, they are furious and terrible Creatures; when they are irritated and enrag'd with want of Bread, and cannot live upon their Work; when Trading is dead, and they are overburden'd with Taxes; then Necessity, (which is a great Mistress, and finds her Scholars very apt) teaches them That, which they would never have ventur'd upon in better and more easie Circumstances; and this makes them bold as Lions: For tho' each of them single can do little or no Hurt, yet their Numbers are always great, and these give them Confidence. But whatever the Disease be, 'tis certain the Remedy is more ready at hand, and the Cure easier, for the Poor than for the Rich; this Mischief is quickly restrain'd, and may be timely prevented. For so long as they have Necessaries, so long as they can carry on their Trades, and maintain their Families by them, they are generally contented. And therefore it highly concerns all Governours to preserve and encourage Trade, because in so doing they are sure to keep good Order among the laborious, and hardy, and most necessitous; which to be sure are generally the most numerous part of their Subjects. In the mean while, we may observe this very remarkable Difference between them, that the Rich have the Temptation within Themselves, and are formidable upon the account of their own Personal Vices, and the Circumstances they are in; but the Poor are not so from Themselves, nor their Condition, but if ever They minister just cause of Fear, it is commonly thro' the Indiscretion or the Cruelty of their Governours, who suffer them to be driven to the last Extremies; and when these pinch hard, and are no longer supportable, they are provok'd to play a desperate Game in their own Defence.

Now several Lawgivers, and eminent Politicians have apply'd their Minds to contrive proper Methods

for the keeping off, and securing the States they formed, or presided over, from the Inconveniences attending each of these Extremes; and such as so vast a Disproportion of Estates and Fortunes will naturally expose the Publick to. They have been therefore desirous to bring all nearer to a Level, to reduce the one, and raise the other; so that there should be a kind of universal Mediocrity, and pretty near an equal Scantling: When Things stood upon this Foot, they promised Themselves a sure Foundation of Peace and Amity, and good Correspondence, by removing all the Grounds of Contempt on the one hand, and of Envy and Jealousie on the other, quite out of the way. Others have stretched this Project yet further; they are for introducing a common Stock, and leaving no peculiar Rights or Properties at all. But this is impracticable, and fantastical and never can exist long any where, but in Men's own Brains and Imaginations. Nor is that other Design of Equality any more practicable, or indeed at all possible. For tho' Men's Income be alike, yet their Expences and Occasions will be far from being so. These may vary upon a Thousand Accidents; but it is enough that every Body is able to see an Instance in one, which is perfectly unanswerable; and that is the Number of Children, which we all know neither do, nor ever can increase in every Family alike. And therefore it must needs be insufficient, and the Design lost, where the Necessities are not, nor ever can be equal. All the Attempts that have been at any time made toward the putting in practice this Levelling Principle, have scarce ever been able to set it on Foot: It costs more than the Thing is worth to come to it; and if Men could arrive at it, yet it is highly inexpedient, and not at all to their Purpose. The End they aim at is never thus to be compassed; for after all, this is at last but to open another Door, and let the very Mischief in the back way, which we take so much Pains to keep out.

For

For if Hatred and Contention be the Evils we are afraid of, where do we find These more frequent and fierce than between Equals? How can we indeed reasonably expect it otherwise, where Men think Themselves a Match for one another, where there is no Distance or Respect to Temper, no Fear to curb and bind them to the Peace and their good Behaviour? If Envy and Jealousies arise against Superiours, so do they likewise among Equals; and this latter sort is the Seed of Disturbances and Confusions, Seditions and Civil Wars. Some Disproportion therefore is absolutely necessary, but such as is moderate, and may keep the Balance even and steady. Order is like Harmony; if all Sounds were the same, there could be no Musick; but yet it is necessary these different Notes should agree in general Cords, and retain some Proportion to make the Composition regular and sweet. But a perfect Level is like a continu'd Unison; and nothing is more flat, * *nothing more unequal than an exact Equality.*

This so very great Disparity of Estates and Possessions proceeds from several very different Causes; but more especially from Two. The One is unjust Borrowings, and hard Loans; when Men are forced and content to take up Money at any rate, and submit to all the unconscionable Interests that Gripping Usurers put upon them; by which means those unjust Creditors eat into their Estates, gnaw out their very Heart and Bowels, and by degrees swallow all, and so grow fat upon the Substance of other People. To such as These may that Complaint of the *Psalmist* not improperly be apply'd, *They eat up my People as they would eat Bread.* *Psalm. liii. 5.* The Other is by Disposals of Estates, and that either by Men during their own Life-time, in Alienations, Dowries, and Portioning of Children when they Marry, or set up in the World; or else by last Will, and Bequest at the time of their Death. By

* *Nihil est æqualitate inæqualius.*

all which Means, and by the Frugality and good Management of some, and the extravagant Profuseness of Others, it comes to pass, that some Men's Fortunes are prodigiously increased, and others sunk and crumbled into nothing. A Prodigal Heir makes all fly, and his Posterity continue poor after him: A great Fortune marries with a vast Estate; and here one Heap is pil'd upon another: A rich Heiress carries off the Estate and Paternal Seat, incorporates it into another House, and so the Wealth and Name of her own Family is either dreadfully maim'd and enfeebl'd, or cut off and quite extinct at once. These are plain and obvious Reasons, why some Men gain such mighty Advantages over Others; and shew us how some Families are reduced to nothing, and others again flourish as much, and are wonderfully strengthen'd and exalted. Now all these Things should be taken into Consideration, and other Measures taken to regulate and reform the Mischiefs that grow from them. For tho' a perfect Equality be impracticable, yet a convenient Moderation is not: And if all be not Even, yet there is no necessity that all should be in Extremes; we may, and it is reasonable we should bring Matters nearer together, and make some tolerable Approaches towards such a Mediocrity as is reasonable. Such an one as is reasonable, I say; for an entire and thorough one is neither reasonable, nor expedient, nor honest. This may be effected in some good Degree by private Persons, in the management and disposal of their Own Affairs: And it may be advanc'd higher by the wholesom Constitutions and Counsels of Those in a publick Capacity: And both are concerned to have Regard to it. But of this we shall have some occasion to speak more at large, when the Virtue of *Justice* comes to be treated of.

The End of the First Book.

1.9.



Charron, Pierre,

Of Wisdom Three Books

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